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Horæ biblicæ : short studies in the
Old and New Testaments



HORÆ BIBLICÆ

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SHORT STUDIES IN THE
OLD AND NEW
TESTAMENTS

BY
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1903

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1903

DEDICATED
TO
THE MEMORY
OF MY FRIEND AND MASTER
THE MOST REVEREND
EDWARD WHITE BENSON
ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY
A C.



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INTRODUCTION

THE papers contained in this volume have, with one exception,¹ appeared in the pages of *The Expositor*, and are now republished with the kind permission of the Editor.

They are the expression of thoughts which occurred to the writer on various points of theology during the last few years.

The "studies" are mainly in the New Testament ; but the subjects of the two which relate to the Old Testament² are of surpassing interest. Cyrus is a unique character in the history of the world. Against him no word of reproach is placed on record in any writing, sacred or profane. Indeed so high is the tribute paid to this great conqueror by the Prophet of the Exile that the terms of it, as we read them in the second part of Isaiah, seem more applicable in their second application than in their first. They are cherished

¹ Chapter xviii.

² Chapters i. and ii.

as prophetic descriptions of the Prince of Peace, and the original meaning of them is well nigh forgotten. Still these words remain written, and are confirmed by the historians of Greece and the Chaldean records. Not only is it the traits of his character and the resistless force of his advance that are worthy of note ; but it is on Cyrus, perhaps more than on any other one man, that the great events of history hinge. The opening chapter of this volume is an attempt, however inadequate and incomplete, to support and illustrate this view.

Chapter ii. suggests a link between the Old and New Testaments which does not appear to have been noticed elsewhere, but which, if sustained, gives point to our Lord's words in the passage cited.

Although the studies in the New Testament are not all connected by any single line of argument, most of them deal more or less with three topics of importance ; namely : (1) The gift of the indwelling Christ, a truth presented without reservation by St. Paul as the secret of the believer's power, enabling him to claim all things as "his own." It was the sense of this possession, which largely accounts for the strength and enthusiasm of the early Church, in great measure lost to these later days. (2) Another point of extreme interest dealt with in these chapters is the gradual creation of a Christian vocabulary,¹ a choice of words to

¹ See chapters xi.-xiv.

convey the great new truths of the Revelation in Christ. This is a problem which meets the missionary of the present day, and which has been nobly faced and solved by the translation of the Bible, and books of Christian devotion and instruction into hundreds of diverse tongues.¹ For the earliest preachers of Christianity some preparation had been made by the common use of the Greek language by the Jews of the Western Dispersion, and above all by the LXX. version of the Law and the Prophets. Greek thought, too, infused into the words which expressed it, was in part a help, in part a difficulty to the Christian teacher. It was a help so far as the best thoughts of the best teachers of the Hellenic world were consistent with the purest ideal of the Christian life; but other terms, seemingly serviceable, introduced conceptions which were altogether at variance with the new and purer morality taught by Christ. (3) The problem became most difficult and complicated in respect to philosophic terms—a third point considered at some length in these “studies.” In preaching the Gospel, to the Gentiles especially, there must have been a strong temptation to present the Christian Revelation in a philosophic form. At Athens St. Paul seems to have made this attempt. But in writing to the

¹ The Bible Society has translations of the Bible in 376 different languages and dialects.

Corinthians he repudiates the thought. St. Paul deliberately decides not to mould Christianity on the lines of any philosophy. Surely here there is a lesson of far-reaching consequence. The same problem has frequently re-appeared, but, unhappily, has not been met as St. Paul met it, and the attempt to reconcile religion and philosophy, or to express religious ideas in philosophic terms, has resulted in a legacy of disputation which has rent the Church asunder.

In regard to the remaining "studies" a few words of introduction will suffice. As far as the present writer knows attention has not been directed in any English work to the grammatical form of "Christian,"¹ or to the associations which that form seems to carry with it. Another question of grammar arises in the note on St. John vii. 52.² If the view there taken is correct, it certainly clears up what has hitherto been a difficulty of interpretation with most commentators. The chapters³ which bear upon Church history bring in points open to discussion. The election of Matthias has a peculiar interest in regard to time and procedure, which deserves a much fuller treatment than is here given. The conclusions stated in the chapter on Judaistic Christianity are those of Professor Hort, and therefore deserve the fullest consideration.

¹ Chapter iv. ² Chapter viii. ³ Chapters x. and xviii.

INTRODUCTION

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The notes and references will show how much the present writer owes to others. For what is specially his own he craves the indulgent criticism of his readers.

A. C.

ADDINGTON VICARAGE,
SURREY, *October*, 1903.

I

CYRUS, THE LORD'S ANOINTED

(I)

HIS WIDER MISSION

FEW things are more impressive, even in sacred literature, than the gradual unfolding in prophecy both of the wrath and of the lovingkindness of Jehovah. At first the doom or the salvation of Israel is described with vague grandeur in imagery borrowed from the phenomena of nature. The day of the Lord is "a day of clouds and thick darkness, as the dawn spread upon the mountains" (Joel ii. 2; comp. Zeph. i. 15, Amos v. 20). The restoration is prefigured by the similitude of the desert rejoicing and blossoming as the rose (Isa. xxxv. 1), or as light shining in darkness (Isa. ix. 2; comp. Zech. xiv. 6). Gradually the picture grows clearer, and the prophet's eye discovers the wrath or the forgiveness of God taking definite effect in the conquest and captivity or the ultimate return of a people. (Comp. Zeph. i. 7 ff. with iii. 14 ff.,

Amos. ii. 6 ff. with ix. 11 ff., Micah iii. 12 with iv. 1.) At length the nation's sins have come to a head, or the days of purification are accomplished. The time is at hand, and the prophet no longer speaks in ambiguous terms. The very instrument of vengeance or of salvation is named, and the advance of a Nebuchadrezzar or of a Cyrus is described in unmistakable language.

Very remarkable too is the teaching of the prophets in regard to this instrumental use of great conquerors and world powers: "I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the Lord the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of the wilderness" (Amos vi. 14). In this light Nebuchadrezzar is "the servant of the Lord" (Jer. xxv. 9). Even though the cruelty and oppression of the Chaldean monarch passed all bounds of humanity, "making men as the fishes of the sea and as the creeping things that have no ruler over them," still the prophet concludes, "O Lord, Thou hast ordained him for judgment; and Thou, O Rock, hast established him for correction (Hab. i. 12, 14).

But the time came at length when Israel had "received double for all her sins" (Isa. xl. 2), and, while the joy of return is assured to the chosen race, retribution reached the proud city which had misused its power, and, "as Babylon hath caused

the slain of Israel to fall, so at Babylon shall fall the slain of all the land " ¹ (Jer. li. 49).

It was this crisis of national history which called forth the most exultant notes of Hebrew prophecy. The deliverance from a long and cruel oppression was at hand, and no word of psalmist or prophet could adequately express the joy of the ransomed people: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion we were like unto them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongue with singing" (Ps. cxxvi. 1, 2).

There was, however, even then one element of bitterness to some of the proud captive race in the thought that the instrument of Jehovah in this deliverance should be the prince of an alien people. It was to these critics of the divine righteousness that the Prophet of the Exile administers the rebuke, which in its deep and eternal significance far transcends its immediate use: "Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! a potsherd among the potsherds of the earth! Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? or thy work, He hath no hands?" (Isa. xlv. 9). See the application of this great principle in Romans ix. 20 foll. For the rest, the later prophecies in the Book of Isaiah

¹ For an eloquent exposition of this principle in the case of the Assyrian oppression see Isaiah x. 5-19.

(and to these should be added the earlier chapters xiii. and xiv.) glow with the picture of the deliverance under Cyrus. To no hero even of Israel had a more glorious task been assigned ; no one was so conspicuously to carry out the work of Jehovah, "though he knew it not," as Cyrus or Koresh, the Aryan king of Anzan. The armies of Cyrus are "the consecrated ones" of Jehovah, who Himself "mustereth the host for the battle from a far country." They are "the weapons of Divine indignation," and that the prophesied horrors of the siege of Babylon did not actually take effect was alone due to the humane character of the conqueror (Isa. xiii. 3-5, 15-18; comp. with citations from Chaldean tablets *infra*).

Again, the sublime message of the herald on the mountains of Sion, which we have almost ceased to associate with any other than the Lord Christ Himself, was in the first instance the gospel or *evangelium* of the deliverance by Cyrus : "O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into the high mountain, etc. (ἐπ' ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἀνάβηθι ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Σίων κ.τ.λ., Isa. xl. 9 f.).¹

The mission of Cyrus was twofold, and the character of each mission is indefinitely deepened

¹ Note here in the Greek word for "who tellest good tidings" (εὐαγγελιζόμενος) the origin of *evangel*, *evangelist*, and *gospel*.

and enriched by the titles bestowed upon him, and the consecration of his work by Jehovah Himself.

The first and immediate mission was the restoration of the Jews from Babylon. "I am the Lord . . . that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure : even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid " (Isa. xlv. 28).

But while we recognize the fact that the chief motive which inspires the great prophet of the Return in these sublime chapters is to celebrate the work of "the shepherd of the Lord" in the restoration of the exiled Jews to the land of their fathers, and to point out the momentous character of that outwardly insignificant event in the divine ordering of history, this ought not to blind us to that other fact, that a wider mission and a loftier title are assigned to Cyrus by the inspired writer. The mission of "the Lord's anointed," the Christ or Messiah of Jehovah, for widespread dominion had a far more extended effect on the civilization and the religion of the future than the return of the Jews from Babylon.

The foundation of the first Aryan Empire by Cyrus is one of the few great determining events in the history of the world, and one which in its remoter effects proved to be a necessary condition for the growth of the kingdom of Christ.

Speaking of the wider mission (Isa. xlv. 1-7), the prophet describes the advance of the great conqueror in words of inspired enthusiasm. Cyrus is the Christ or Messiah, whose right hand Jehovah holds, to subdue nations before him, to go before him and make the rugged places plain, to break in pieces the doors of brass and cut in sunder the bars of iron; to give him the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places. So that where Cyrus is most closely typical of the greater Christ to come he is represented as the irresistible conqueror and the founder of an empire which should, in some mysterious and unrevealed sense, extending far beyond the deliverance of Judah, be for the sake of "Jacob the servant of Jehovah and Israel his chosen." What is most interesting for us to note here is not only the remarkable accuracy of the description in the swiftness of the advance of Cyrus and the ease with which his conquests were achieved, but also the recognition of a divine guidance and ministry, so to speak, in his career, which are also traceable in the conception of Cyrus formed by the Greek and Chaldean historians. For the character, acts, and conquests of this great man constitute in a remarkable way the meeting point and common ground of three literatures.

It is proposed then briefly to illustrate from Greek and Chaldean sources the larger mission of the Gentile king, whom the Hebrew prophet

does not hesitate to designate as the Christ of Jehovah; to note the consensus with which, from different points of view, his mission is recognized as divinely inspired; and to point out how profoundly the singular beauty of his character and the gentleness of his policy impressed every nationality with which he came in contact.

The acts and events by which the first mission of Cyrus was accomplished are narrated at length in the later historical books of the Bible. For the details of the fulfilment of the larger mission we must have recourse to external records.

To these sources also we must go for a true conception of the character and disposition of Cyrus. For so entirely is the prophetic view concentrated on his work as the agent and instrument of Jehovah, that we are unable to gather from the Book of Isaiah or elsewhere in the Bible any direct evidence as to his individual character. One expression, indeed, has been thought to ascribe righteousness to Cyrus. In Isaiah xli. 2 the phrase occurs, "whom he calleth in righteousness to his foot." But righteousness must here be regarded as the righteous purpose of Jehovah, and the expression would signify the appointment of Cyrus to carry out that divine purpose by his achievements. And even if the reading in the margin of R.V., "whom righteousness calleth to its foot," and Cheyne's rendering, "whom righteous-

ness calleth to follow him," be accepted, it is best both here and in the parallel passages (xlii. 6 and xlv. 13) to regard righteousness as equivalent to the purpose of Jehovah, and not as a quality attributed to Cyrus.

On the other hand, knowing as we do from other sources what the character of Cyrus really was, and how widely it was recognized, we find it difficult to believe that the Hebrew prophet was ignorant of a disposition which made this great conqueror worthy to bear the lofty titles bestowed upon him by Jehovah. If this view be correct, the titles and attributes by which Cyrus is addressed as "the shepherd of the Lord," "the servant of the Lord," "one raised up in righteousness," or "called in righteousness," "the man of Jehovah's counsel," and, above all, "the anointed of the Lord," must connote far more than agency or instrumentality. They are ascribed to one, the nobility and excellency of whose character are known to the inspired writer.

Another question of great interest has been raised in regard to an expression in those chapters. In Isaiah xli. 25 we read, "I have raised up one from the north, and he is come; from the rising of the sun one that calleth on my name."¹ Compare

¹ Cyrus is raised from the north as king of Media, which he had conquered; from the east as king of Anzan, a district of Elam, his original kingdom.

with this 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 23 and the parallel Ezra i. 2. Dr. Cheyne says: "It is evidently a prediction of a spiritual change to be wrought in Cyrus in consequence of his wonderful career—his conversion to the belief that Jehovah was the author of his success, the only true God." Dr. Skinner (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*) also says: "The expression can hardly mean less than that Cyrus shall acknowledge Jehovah as God. . . . It is true that in Ch. xlv. 4 f. it is said that Cyrus had not known Jehovah, but it is also said (*v.* 3) that the effect of his remarkable successes will be 'that thou mayest know that I am Jehovah that calleth thee by thy name, even the God of Israel.' There is, therefore, no difficulty in the idea that Cyrus, who was at first the unconscious instrument of Jehovah's purpose, shall at length recognize that Jehovah was the true author of his success." On the other hand, Prof. G. A. Smith writes (*The Book of Isaiah*, vol. ii. p. 131): "Taken in apposition with the phrase, *he is come*, '*calleth on my name*' may mean no more than that, answering to the instigation of Jehovah, and owning his impulse, Cyrus by his career proclaimed or celebrated Jehovah's name." The interpretation favoured by Cheyne and Skinner, which rests on the supposition that Cyrus was a monotheist, has, says Prof. Smith, received a shock from the discovery of a proclamation of Cyrus after

his entry into Babylon, in which he invokes the names of Babylonian deities, and calls himself 'their servant.' "

We shall refer to this proclamation again. Here it will suffice to say that the proclamations of Cyrus both at Babylon and in regard to Jerusalem are those of a wise and lenient conqueror who made it a part of his policy to recognize the gods of a conquered country and to place himself under their protection. To imply a conversion of Cyrus either to Chaldean polytheism or to the Jehovah worship of the Jews would be to press unduly the words of either proclamation. At the same time to Cyrus, as a Persian and a monotheist, the religion of the Jews would have an attraction which the Babylonian cult could not possibly possess. And if the story be accepted, and there is no reason to doubt its truth, that this very prophecy which we are considering was shown to Cyrus,¹ the effect of it would certainly be great and sufficient to induce a very genuine acknowledgment of the power of Jehovah, which might seem not altogether irreconcilable with his former religious belief.

But what was that belief? According to Herodotus the religion of the Persians consisted in a worship of the elements, "the sun and moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds" (i. 131). "There

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 1. 2.

is no trace of dualism, not even any mention of Ormuzd. Conversely, in the inscriptions there is nothing elemental; but the worship of one supreme God under the name of Ormuzd, with perhaps an occasional mention of an evil principle" (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. i., Essay v.). These two systems of religion are quite distinct. The elemental worship described by Herodotus is not Persian or Aryan at all, but Magian, the religion of the Scythian tribes widely scattered over western Asia. This system was adopted by the Medes and became a source of corruption to the purer Zoroastrian dualism, the religion of Cyrus, and of the Persians from a remote antiquity.

There is, as we have seen, no detailed sketch of the career or of the character of Cyrus to be found in the Bible, though there is good reason for the belief that both were perfectly well known to the Hebrew prophets as they were to the Chaldean priests and to the Greek historians.

There are still several points of obscurity in his history to be cleared up, but the following brief outline of events will help to explain the hopes expressed for the future of Israel through the instrumentality of Cyrus.

In the year 555 B.C. the peace of the world appeared to be secured by the strong alliance of Cræsus, Nabonidus (Nabû-nâ-id) and Amasis, rul-

ing over the powerful empires of Lydia, Chaldea and Egypt. This alliance was strengthened by the ties of relationship between Cræsus and Astyages,¹ king, not of the Medes, as the Greek historians assert, but of the Manda or nomad Scythian tribes, whose capital was Ecbatana.²

Suddenly danger arose from an unexpected quarter. Cyrus, or Koresh, a young prince of Persian descent belonging to the royal tribe of the Achæmenidæ, ruler of Anzan, a province of Elam—probably the level plain as opposed to the more mountainous district—gathered round him a body of Persian soldiers, whom he trained to a perfect state of discipline, and inspired with the ambition of conquest. The first blow was struck at Ecbatana and the Manda, whose king Astyages (Astuvigu of the monuments) had made himself unpopular by the severity of his rule. A disaffected party within the kingdom invited the assistance of Cyrus (which seems to be substratum of truth in the romantic legend of Herodotus), and Cyrus laid the foundation of his power by the defeat of Astyages. The next step in the progress of the youthful conqueror was the accession of Media to his rule. The circumstances in which

¹ The historian Ctesias, however, denies the relationship. See Grote's *History of Greece*, iv. 248.

² Prof. Sayce, art. "Cyrus" in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*. A different view is taken by Profs. C. P. Tiele and W. H. Kusters in their art. on Cyrus in the *Encycl. Biblica*.

this conquest or acquisition was achieved are unknown. But it is clear that the peace or alliance was concluded on terms honourable to the Medes, as the latter take precedence of the Persians in historical narrative, and the Mede rather than the Persian was the name by which this formidable power became known to the Greek.¹

The conquest of Lydia² (554 B.C.) which followed was achieved by one of those swift strokes of generalship which characterize great military genius. The Lydian and Persian armies fought a bloody and indecisive battle on the plains of Pteria. Cræsus retired to Sardis intending to summon his allies and renew the contest in the spring, when Cyrus unexpectedly pursued, crossed the Halys and invaded Lydia. Sardis was captured by a stratagem, and its immense wealth, "the treasures of darkness and the hidden riches of secret places" (Isa. xlv. 3), fell into the hands of the conqueror.

In 538 B.C. Babylon shared the fate of Sardis. Nabonidus, claiming descent from an ancient Babylonian dynasty, usurped the throne vacant by the death of Nebuchadrezzar (*c.* 555 B.C.). The defeat of the Manda by Cyrus is mentioned in the monu-

¹ In the LXX. of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20 the "kingdom of the Persians" appears as βασιλείας Μήδων.

² Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 77, note 2.

ments as averting an invasion of Babylon.¹ But the youthful Persian monarch who had repelled this danger proved in turn a more formidable foe. His first invasion was unsuccessful in 545 B.C., but seven years afterwards Gobryas, the general of Cyrus, a Median, appeared before Sippara, fifty miles to the north-west of Babylon. Here Belshazzar (*Bêlu-sărra-usur*) was stationed with the troops. But after a single battle the people of Accad rose in revolt against Nabonidus. On the fourteenth day Sippara fell without a blow. Babylon itself made no resistance. On the eleventh day Gobryas and the troops of Cyrus occupied the city. On the third day after Cyrus himself entered Babylon: "the walls fell down before him. Peace for the city he established; Cyrus to Babylon, peace, to the whole of it he spake."

This description illustrates the ease of conquest and good fortune—that *felicitas* which Cicero says always accompanies a great general—and also the clemency with which Cyrus used his conquests, and his characteristic love of peace.

In Babylon, as at Ecbatana and probably in Media, Cyrus found a considerable element of disaffection which smoothed his way to conquest. Nabonidus had provoked the anger of his people

¹ "Cyrus, his (Merodach's) young servant, with his few troops routed the numerous Umnan-Manda folk." (Clay cylinder in the British Museum, No. 122.)

partly by the neglect of the great annual festival of the new year, and partly by his policy of concentrating the worship of the gods in Babylon and abolishing the local sanctuaries. Consequently Cyrus appeared as a deliverer, and a champion of the outraged gods and their offended priesthood. In his proclamation he places himself under the protection of Merodach and other divinities and ascribes his victories to their power. In the clay cylinder containing the history of this conquest the success of Cyrus is attributed to the favour of Merodach: "He sought out an upright prince after his own heart, whom he took by his hand, Cyrus, king of the city of Anzan; he named his name . . . he joyfully beheld his good deeds and his upright heart"—language which forcibly reminds us of Isaiah xlv. 1-4. In all this, however, we trace the action of a politic conqueror and not any serious recognition of the polytheism of Babylon.

At the same time it is interesting to note that the impression made upon the priests and scribes of Babylon resembles that which, *mutatis mutandis*, appears in the Hebrew prophetic literature. In each there is a sense of a divine mission, and behind the incidents narrated there are traces of a personality marked by a wonderful attractiveness and power of conciliation, characteristics which it is not difficult to discern in the portrait sculpture of

Cyrus found at Meshed-Murghâb, the ancient Pasargadæ.¹ The same recognition of a definite mission and of a gracious personality appears also in the literature of Greece, as we shall proceed to show. It is this threefold acknowledgment of an inspired career, and of a character pre-eminent at once for force of will and gentleness of disposition that gives a peculiar distinction to Cyrus among great conquerors and founders of empire, and is of special interest and importance in view of the position assigned to him in the furtherance of the Messianic hope.

(II)

THE TESTIMONY OF THE GREEK HISTORIANS

THE first notice of Cyrus in extant Greek literature is to be found in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, "the earliest specimen of Greek history which we possess, though written in verse."² The date of the play is B.C. 473, seven years after the great defeat of the Persians at Salamis, and about sixty years after the death of Cyrus.

In the drama the shade of Darius appears on the stage and narrates the history of the Persian

¹ It is however fair to say that doubt has been recently thrown on the genuineness of this monument. See Sayce, art. "Cyrus" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

² Paley's *Introduction to the Persæ*.

monarchy. After speaking of his Median predecessors he continues : " Third after him Cyrus, a man favoured by fortune (*εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ*). By his rule he made peace for all his friends, and won for himself the people of the Lydians, and of the Phrygians, and harried (*ἤλασεν*) all Ionia by force, for, seeing he was kindly, God envied him not." (764-768.)

Considering the temper of the Athenian people, the generous way in which Cyrus is spoken of in this passage, and the epithets applied to him, are striking indeed. There was no temptation for an Athenian poet to place the character and achievements of Cyrus in a favourable light. The subjugation of Ionia was in a special degree a dangerous topic, Phrynichus, a contemporary of Æschylus, having been fined 1,000 drachmæ for his tragedy on the " taking of Miletus," a few years previously,¹—an incident which makes the tribute paid to Cyrus the more remarkable. In these few lines the same notes of character are discernible which we have observed in Isaiah and in the Chaldean records. He is *εὐδαίμων*, which we may interpret to mean more than " fortunate," it is the counterpart of " the man of my counsel," or " the Lord's anointed " of Isaiah, it means favoured by heaven as the man " by whose side," according to the

¹ Probably in 492 B.C. See Grote, *History of Greece*, iv. 415 foll.

Babylonian scribe, "Merodach marched like a comrade and helper." (*Light from the East*, p. 224.)

Then he is the peacemaker for all his friends, just as "he is sent to the Gentiles with gracious promises,"¹ or, to cite again from the monuments, "his great hosts went about harmlessly; the whole land of Shinar and Accad he suffered to have no terrifiers. Within Babylon and all its cities in peace I looked after the sons of Tin-Tir."

The swiftness of conquest so graphically described in Isaiah is signified in two short Iambic lines:

Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο,
Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βία.

Note here the skill with which the poet (with a view to the susceptibilities of the Athenian audience) indicates that the conquest of Ionia was no easy victory, it was not an acquisition (*ἐκτήσατο*) like Lydia, but a beating down of resistance (*ἤλασεν βία*).

Then that kindliness of disposition which certainly underlies the description of the anointed prince in Isaiah, and is brought out in the monuments in such phrases as: "the nobles rejoiced at his accession . . . their faces brightened . . . they gladly did him homage," is denoted by the Æschylean expression, ὥς εὐφρων ἔφν (seeing he was kindly), an attribute which combines the ideas

¹ See heading of Isaiah xlix., A.V.

of joyousness and clemency, two qualities which disarmed the envy of the gods and tended to create that attractiveness of disposition, which made even his former foes rejoice at the coming of the Gentile king.

In turning to the accounts of Cyrus in Herodotus it is impossible to feel that we are reading genuine history. Our present aim however is not to investigate the accuracy of the Greek historians, but to show the impression which the character and career of Cyrus made upon the Greek mind. That this impression was at least based upon fact, appears partly from the way in which the character of Cyrus is distinguished from that of his successors, and partly from the consistency of the portrait as depicted by the different Greek writers, and its agreement with the notices in Isaiah and in the Babylonian tablets.

From the first the sense of a mission was present with Cyrus. "For myself," he says to the Persians who were rising against Astyages, "I feel I am destined by providence to undertake this project" (*αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι*, Herod. i. 126). And his conquest of Cræsus was in the Greek conception the accomplishment of a Divine purpose in bringing a long delayed penalty on the house of Gyges, of which Cræsus was the latest representative. The recognition of this by the Greek

oracles bears some resemblance to the recognition of his mission by the Hebrew prophets and the Chaldean scribes. The shrewd answers of the Apollo of Delphi or Branchidæ, so far as they were predictive, were undoubtedly based on a very wide and accurate knowledge of events ; and the conquests of the youthful Persian monarch and his rapidly increasing strength were certainly not unknown at these centres of political intelligence. There, at any rate, there was no ambiguity in the meaning of the oracles which foretold the fall of an empire when the Halys was crossed or when a "mule" should reign over ¹ Media.

But besides being the centre of political intelligence and the source of prediction, the Greek oracle was also the conscience of the Hellenic world,² and it was when prediction coincided with the moral sense of the race, as in the case of Cræsus, that its results were most impressive. It is indeed this religious element which gives the form to history as treated by Herodotus. And on the same lines, but with clearer insight, the

¹ Herodotus, i. 53, 55. (a) Cræsus having crossed the Halys shall destroy a mighty empire. (b) When a mule is monarch of Media . . . haste away, nor blush to behave like a coward. The "mule" is explained to refer to the mixed Median and Persian descent of Cyrus.

² See for instance the answers to Glaucus in regard to money entrusted to his care, and to the people of Cymé respecting the betrayal of Paktyas. Herodotus, vi. 86 ; i. 158 foll.

Hebrew prophet foretells the doom of Israel or Judah when he sees the approach of the instrument of divine vengeance coinciding with his sense of the need of punishment.¹ The moral cause is at the root; the political condition coincides with it.

Without some recognition of a religious sense or conscience in the nations outside Israel the prophetic appeals to them would have had nothing to start from or to rest upon. The summons to the Gentiles to submit to Jehovah could meet with no response unless the message satisfied the mind and touched an answering cord.

Cyrus then came to fulfil a mission, which approved itself to the religious instinct of the Hellenic race, and at the same time, though he knew it not, to carry out the purpose of Jehovah in bringing many nations under his rule.

The clemency which we have noticed as characteristic of Cyrus appears in his magnanimity and consideration in dealing with Croesus,² and in his treatment of the Ionian Greeks. Conqueror though he was, and enslaver of many of their cities, he was remembered by the Greeks as a "father" (ὁ πατήρ) in contrast to the sterner régime of his successor, Cambyses, "the master" (ὁ δεσπότης).

¹ See G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 152.

² Herodotus, i. 90 foll.

Another grand element in the character of Cyrus is implied in the description which Herodotus gives of the race from which he sprang. "The Persians," he says, think the most disgraceful thing in the world is to tell a lie."¹

Although the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon is a romance and not history, and its subject an ideal prince and ruler, it is inspired by a real personage. The name and reputation of Cyrus suggested to Xenophon the story of a beautiful boyhood marked by unselfishness, and a hearty desire to please others, and an after career of wonderful brilliance in peace and war. He is represented as handsome in appearance, quick in learning, educated in a public school (*διδασκαλεῖον*) in the principles of justice (*δικαιοσύνη*), self-control and temperance, winning influence and love at every stage of his career, and, when the time came for him to administer affairs and to lead armies, he is represented as the righteous ruler and the humane and generous conqueror.

Ideal though his portrait may be, and unreal many of the scenes and colloquies in the *Cyropædia*, and even the *dramatis personæ*, still the main features of Xenophon's description are entirely consistent with what we know of Cyrus

¹ Herodotus, i. 139, where see Rawlinson's interesting note. In the inscriptions of Darius *lying* is taken as the representative of all evil.

from the Chaldean monuments and the words of the prophet of the Exile.¹

No doubt legends and imaginary attributes gathered round the name of Cyrus as they gathered round the names of a Charlemagne or a Barbarossa. "Most of the stories about King Alfred," said Sir F. Pollock in a recent address "are without foundation. Why, then," he adds, "did the popular imagination attribute a series of acts all praiseworthy to Alfred rather than to any other king?"

The same question, *mutatis mutandis*, might be asked in regard to Cyrus, and the answer is the same in each case. The details and stories may be false, but the description of the great king who made the epoch is substantially true. It was the astonishing success, the great renown, and the attractive character of Cyrus that stirred the imagination of East and West and gave rise to many legends. His rise and progress seemed to the Greek historian as well as to the Hebrew prophet to be divinely inspired and guided.

The characteristic of Cyrus which especially impressed Xenophon was his pre-eminence in the art of government. "He excelled all other kings," he says, "in his power of ruling diverse nations. Some there were who willingly obeyed

¹ Whiston, Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 1, notes that Cyrus is called "God's Shepherd" by Xenophon as well as by Isaiah.

Cyrus, though absent from him many days', even many months' journey ; some too who had never seen him, and who knew very well that they never should see him, still readily submitted themselves to his government." Although the subject races "spoke neither the same language with himself nor with one another, yet he was able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world that he astonished all, and no one attempted anything against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him that they ever desired to be governed by his counsel. He attached to himself (ἀνηρτήσατο) so many nations as it would be a labour to enumerate." (Xen. *Cyropædia*, i. 1.)

There is no reason to discount this estimate of what may truly be called the imperial gift in Cyrus. It was indeed this astonishing and patent success not only in conquest but in attractive influence and rule that induced Xenophon to inquire into the antecedents and character of so great a genius. And it is this particular aspect of the work of Cyrus that makes the *Cyropædia* illustrative of Isaiah's picture of the Lord's Anointed. The Hebrew prophet describes the resistless progress of a great conqueror ; Xenophon, from an independent point of view, indicates the singular fitness of the unconscious instrument of Jehovah to accomplish His purpose.

To the Jew the personal character of the deliverer would be thought a matter of secondary importance. To the Greek historian, if by any possibility he could have known it, the return of the Jews, the scattered remnant of a captive tribe, to their native land would have appeared an incident of no significance for the future of the world. Each furnishes the complement to the other's narrative. In the Biblical account we have the underlying cause of the success, which Xenophon records at length. And in the *Cyropædia* there is the sketch of a character which we have a right to assume was known to the sacred writer, and which justifies his enthusiasm.

The mission of Cyrus as liberator of the Jews requires no comment. It is a well understood step in the divine development of history which opened out for the Hebrew race a fresh beginning of national life. His wider mission of conquest and empire is less generally recognized as equally important for the religious future of the world and the spread of Christianity. Before the death of Cyrus his dominions extended from the river Indus to the western coast of Asia Minor, and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Egypt was ready to fall into his hands, when his career was cut short by a premature death. This vast extent of territory welded into an empire by that marvellous power of governing which, Xenophon notes, was

the precursor of the great world powers which successively and in different ways promoted the advance of the kingdom of Christ. Cyrus was the imperial ancestor of Alexander, Cæsar, and Charlemagne. Each of these great rulers in his own epoch contributed to the work of the larger mission foreshadowed in Isaiah xlv. 1-7. And what is most to be noted is that that larger mission was entrusted not only to Gentiles, but to Gentiles of the Aryan or Indo-European race of which the British nation forms a part. The Jews—who belong to the Semitic stock—undoubtedly, and in the first place, were the chosen instruments for the salvation of the world, but the movements, which gave scope for their work, were directed by the great rulers of the Aryan Gentiles.

This fact gives a peculiar interest to the typical aspect of the work and career of Cyrus. Illustration of this kind is perhaps a less usual form of teaching now than formerly; but in the case of this great deliverer of Israel the type is so forcibly presented in the prophetic description that it is in places difficult to separate by a definite line the terms applied to Cyrus, and those primarily applicable to the Messianic King. Like his antitype, the Saviour of the world, Cyrus is the "servant of the Lord," "My chosen in whom My soul delighteth," he is the first "Consolation of Israel," "a preacher of peace," (compare with this the

expressions cited from the Chaldean monuments, and the beautiful line in the *Persæ* already referred to: "He made peace for all his friends,") the founder of a kingdom, and above all the "Christ or Messiah of the Lord," the anointed deliverer, the saviour from Babylon—the symbol of iniquity, and the restorer to Zion—the type of righteousness. The typical parallel might be extended to points of character; for we read of a pure, loving, and obedient childhood, and afterwards of a humanity and graciousness quite unparalleled in the conquerors of those days, and of an equitable fairness in judgment which corresponds with the *ἐπιείκεια* (gentleness or sweet reasonableness, 2 Cor. x. 1) of the Lord Christ Himself.

II

THE TWELVE LEGIONS OF ANGELS IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT

(ST. MATT. XXVI. 53.)

THERE is always a special interest in acts or phrases of our Lord reported by one only of the Synoptic Evangelists. The reason why particular facts or sayings are confined to one Gospel may be sometimes that the special report reached one Evangelist only, sometimes that that Evangelist alone regarded it as too precious or significant to be lost to the Church, or else that he discerned in it an allusion or a fitness for the spiritual instruction of his destined readers, which did not present itself to the minds of the other sacred writers. Any one of these motives may have weighed with St. Matthew in his report of the words which we are considering.

In the crowded and agitated moments of our Lord's arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, it is quite possible that some only of the words uttered would be remembered and recorded. St. Matthew

was present on that momentous occasion, and had himself probably heard those words of Jesus addressed primarily to St. Peter, "Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels?" They were words which may have meant more to St. Matthew, with his keen appreciation of prophetic parallelism, than to the other bystanders, more even than to St. Peter himself. This Evangelist would vividly realize that the awful scene before him was taking place on prophetic ground. His feet were standing in the valley of Jehoshaphat, the valley of the judgment of the Lord, the valley of decision, as the prophet Joel had called it. The hope suggested by that ancient prophecy might well have occurred to his mind, and when our Lord's words fell upon his ear they would respond to a thought already working in his soul. The saying is in itself deeply important and interesting as a revelation of divine possibilities in the mind of Jesus; still more so if it can be associated with any definite word of prophecy, for which the time of fulfilment might seem to have arrived. Was then the suggested possibility of the intervention at that moment of twelve legions of angels an intentional answer to the unspoken hopes of St. Peter and the other disciples resting on a definite prediction associated with the very spot on which they stood?

The circumstances of the hour make this extremely probable. It was a decisive moment of history. The powers of evil were gathered to do their worst to the Son of God. In a true sense the nations were stirred up, and had come to the valley of Jehoshaphat; the harvest was indeed ripe, and the press full, and the vats overflowed, for their wickedness was great. Surely it was time to put in the sickle, to tread the grapes. Surely now the day of the Lord was near in the valley of decision.¹ One thing only was needed to complete the fulfilment of the prophetic picture. Would the Christ now, in accordance with the prophet's appeal, "cause His mighty ones to come down" (Joel iii. 11)? If such were His disciples' hopes, as they well may have been, they were doomed to disappointment. Almost in the words of Joel, and certainly, we believe, with reference to them, Jesus affirms His power to beseech the Father to send the hosts of heaven to His aid in that dark hour, but at the same time teaches that not in that way would the Scriptures be fulfilled.

The Master's words came as a crushing blow to the hopes of His disciples. The effect was immediate: "They all forsook Him and fled."

The closeness of the parallelism of our Lord's words with Joel's prophecy depends of course

¹ See Joel iii. 11-14.

on the interpretation given to the expression in chapter iii. 11: "Hither cause Thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord." Although Ewald and others refer "the mighty ones" to the men of Judah, Pusey, Driver, Orelli, Delitzsch, Keil, and most commentators interpret "Thy mighty ones," or "warriors," to mean the angels of the Lord. "The mighty ones of God," says Dr. Pusey, "whom He is prayed to cause to come down, i.e. from heaven, can be no other than the mighty angels, of whom it is said, they are mighty in strength (Ps. ciii. 20, still the same word), to whom God gives charge over His own to keep them in all their ways" (Ps. xci. 11). "So also Dr. Driver: "The mighty ones are no doubt the angelic hosts (Ps. lxviii. 17; Zech. xiv. 5) whom Joel pictures as the agents of Jehovah's will."

The concluding words of this incident, "But all this is come to pass that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled" (St. Matt. xxvi. 56), are almost without a doubt the words of Christ, and not a comment by the Evangelist. As such they are an instructive guide in the interpretation of prophecy. To the disciples at that moment the intervention of the heavenly host would have seemed an exact fulfilment of an ancient and cherished prediction, and a realization of the Messianic hope. The Lord Jesus, on the contrary, affirms that prophecy, which is the inter-

pretation from age to age of the eternal purpose of God, could not at that moment be fulfilled by any startling intervention of Divine force, but by the passion and death of the Son of man, the first stage in which was submission to arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane.

III

THE EXCLUSION OF CHANCE FROM THE BIBLE

THERE is, perhaps, no point more impressively dwelt upon by the Hebrew Prophets in their interpretation of history or of human life than the exclusion of chance as an element to be taken into account. This teaching of a divine purpose in all things is given in clear and even in remarkable terms, as, for instance, when Amos says (iii. 6), "Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it?" the unmistakable inference is that, whatever may have been the secondary cause, divine purpose ultimately determined the event. Again, the point of Habakkuk's complaint, "Why dost thou shew me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance?" (i. 3) lies in the conception that calamity is due not to some chance or turn of fortune, but to the direct ruling of divine providence. The same perplexity is expressed several times by the patriarch Job, as when he says, "God hath made my heart faint"

(xxiii. 16), i.e. it is God and not any cause external to Him that brings the sense of terror into my soul. Citations to the same effect might be multiplied. But it is unnecessary. The pervading prophetic interpretation of history and of men's lives is that events are ordered and determined by the divine will, and not by luck or chance or happy accident. We see this in the image of the potter (Jer. xviii. 1-17), and in the ordering, whether of the stern Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxvii. 7), or of the humane Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 28), to execute the purposes of Jehovah.

It is manifest that such an interpretation of events, or, as it might be termed, such a philosophy of sacred history, would (1) identify purpose and result in the Hebrew mind, and (2) would leave no place for chance or fortune in any theory of life or in religious terms.

The object of these remarks is to show how the influence of this thought has made itself felt in the grammar of Hellenistic Greek, and in the language of the Old and New Testaments. And, secondly, to indicate the prevalence of the worship of Good Fortune, and consequently the need of such protest against it as is found in the language, and in the omissions of Holy Scripture.

I. Greek grammar, in its purest and most exact phase, kept the distinction clear between final and consecutive clauses. In other words, it

indicated by separate particles or forms of expression the difference between result and fulfilled intention. But since, in the case of divine action, the Hebrew mind, as we have seen, conceived all results as purposed, it follows that there would be a tendency for grammatical forms, as expressions of thought, to merge the distinction between intention and result. To illustrate by an example: the sentence, "the vessels approached so closely as to come within range," marks result; but "the vessels approached in order to come within range," marks intention or purpose. In the first form the circumstance might be accidental or it might imply purpose. The second form definitely expresses intention. But to a mind which excludes the possibility of accident in events, the distinction vanishes. This is what happened when the Greek language came to be moulded by the Hebrew intellect. To a large extent the distinction between final and consecutive particles was lost.

In classical Greek the intention, purpose or aim is indicated by the final particles *ἵνα*, *ὅφρα*, *ὅπως* and *ὥς*; or, later, by the genitive of the article with the infinitive; and result is expressed by *ὥστε* with the indicative or infinitive mood. In the Greek of the LXX. and New Testament *ὅφρα* is not found; *ὅπως*, *ὥς* and the genitive of the infinitive retain their final signification, but *ἵνα* has acquired a consecutive force, and, on the other

hand, ὥστε has come to be used in final sentences.

It is true that the consecutive force of ἵνα has been denied by some scholars, as Winer (with the possible exception of Rev. xiii. 13), and by Meyer and Alford; on the other hand, it is maintained by Lightfoot on Gal. v. 17, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντικεῖται, ἵνα μὴ, ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῇτε, comparing 1 Thess. v. 4, οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σκότει, ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτας καταλάβῃ; and by Ellicott on Eph. i. 17, μνεῖαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς . . . δώῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας. To these may be added an example from the LXX. Gen. xxii. 14, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Κύριος εἶδεν ἵνα εἴπωσι σήμερον, Ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη.¹

The use of ὥστε to mark design is admitted even by Winer (p. iii., § xliv. 1). Instances are, St. Matthew xxvii. 1, συμβούλιον ἔλαβον . . . ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν; and St. Luke ix. 52, ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους . . . ὥστε (B. ὥς) ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ.

This evidence of the subtle influence of Hebrew thought on the grammar of Hellenistic Greek is supported by the clearer testimony of language. It is remarkable that neither τύχη nor any other word signifying luck or chance or accident occurs in the New Testament. The seeming exception

¹ Compare the able and convincing argument to the same effect by Canon T. S. Evans in the *Expositor*, vol. iii Second Series.

of the adverbial expression, "by chance" (κατὰ συγκυρίαν) a certain priest was going down that way (St. Luke x. 31), is not really an instance to the contrary. We meet with the same phenomenon in the Old Testament. The Hebrew גַּד (Gad) and its Greek equivalent τύχη occur in two passages only of the Old Testament, namely, Genesis xxx. 11, and Isaiah lxxv. 11. An examination of these passages will show that they are instances where *exceptio probat regulam*.

From the language of the Authorised Version it might seem that a third passage should be added, where a Syrian warrior is described as "drawing his bow at a venture" (1 Kings xxii. 34); but the literal rendering "in his simplicity" only implies the unconsciousness of the agent in carrying out the divine purpose, and certainly conveys no thought of chance, for never was weapon more divinely guided in its aim. In Ecclesiastes ix. 11, "chance," (ἀπάντημα LXX.,) is simply an occurrence, and in 1 Samuel vi. 9 the word is used by the Philistine diviners. In Genesis xxx. 11, where the A.V. reads, "And Leah said, A troop cometh: and she called his name Gad," the R.V., with much greater probability, renders, "And Leah said, Fortunate! (גַּדַּת) and she called his name Gad" (*marg.*, that is, *Fortune*). So also the LXX. καὶ εἶπε Λεία· Ἐν τύχῃ καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Γάδ, which the Vulgate follows: Dixit: Felicitas; et idcirco

vocabit nomen ejus Gad. Whether Leah's exclamation refers to the Syrian God of Fortune, as has been conjectured, or whether *Gad* is an abstract term for prosperity or happiness, there is certainly nothing in the expression to imply a formal recognition of good luck or fortune as a force determining events.

The second passage where the word *Gad* occurs (Isa. lxxv. 11) is more important, and contains a direct protest by the prophet Isaiah against the worship of Fortune or Good Luck as a divinity. In the A.V. the words are : " That prepare a table for that troop, and furnish the drink offering unto that number." The correction of the R.V. is clearly right : " That prepare a table for Fortune (*marg.* Heb. *Gad*), and that fill up mingled wine unto Destiny." The LXX. renders : καὶ ἐτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ τράπεζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέραςμα; and the *Vulgate* : Qui ponitis Fortunæ mensam, et libatis super eam.

It will be observed that in the LXX. version the Hebrew *Gad* is represented by τῷ δαιμονίῳ, and that τῇ τύχῃ is used to translate the Hebrew *Meni*. In the *Vulgate* *Meni* is not represented. According to Schleusner, however (*sub voc.* τύχη), the positions of τῷ δαιμονίῳ and τῇ τύχῃ were reversed in some MSS. and in the Old Latin version, on which Jerome comments, "fortunæ" appears in the first clause, and "dæmoni" in the second. And in his

notes he expressly states that the LXX. translated *Meni* by τῷ δαιμονίῳ. But in any case the parallelism of the Hebrew text shows that *Gad* and *Meni* are synonymous terms, signifying divinities who represented or personified fortune or good luck.

The passage is invaluable not only as giving evidence of the existence of such divinities and of the temptation which their cult offered to the Jews, but also as supplying a reason why the very word *τύχη*, together with the theory of life which it involves, is studiously excluded from the Biblical vocabulary.

It requires only a glance at Greek literature to understand how remarkable this omission is. To cite one out of numberless possible quotations, how natural is the expression of the messenger in the *Antigone* (l. 1158):

τύχη γὰρ ὀρθοῖ καὶ τύχη καταρρέπει
τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα τὸν τε δυστυχοῦντ' αἶεί.

'Tis Fortune's chance

That raiseth up, and Fortune bringeth low,
The man who lives in good or evil plight !

(Plumptre's Trans.)

And yet prevalent and natural as such an expression is with the Greek dramatists, the idea of Chance is as foreign to the primitive theology of Greece as to that of Israel. *τύχη* does not occur in the Homeric Epos. We find it indeed in the

fragment of a hymn to Athene, probably post-Homeric :

χαῖρε, θεά, δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε.

Hail, O Goddess, and grant to us fortune and happiness.

And there it is used in the sense of prosperity or success rather than of lucky accident. And indeed in its original significance *τύχη* did not imply undetermined luck or chance. Etymologically, it is connected with *τέκνον*, child ; *τέκμαρ*, goal ; *τόξον*, bow ; *τέχνη*, art ; *τέκτων*, carpenter (Curtius, *Greek Etymology*, § 235, vol. i. p. 271).

The root idea of the word then is achieved purpose, an end arrived at by deliberate aim, so success. To begin with, therefore, the word would express precisely the Hebrew thought of destiny moulded by divine operation, to which ultimately it was opposed. For in course of time *τύχη* came to signify an element or force in the movement of life and history distinct from the ordered course of divine government, and incalculable in its action. And this is the sense in which it is ordinarily used, and in which it became personified, and afterwards identified with the Syrian divinity Gad.

The passage in Isaiah plainly indicates that the Jews of the Exile had been attracted by the cult of Fortune ; and external research has shown how widespread this cult was in all ages under different forms and names.

Gesenius, *sub voc.*, identifies Gad and Meni with the planets Jupiter and Venus, which are called by the Arabs "the Greater" and "the Lesser Fortune." It is somewhat surprising, as Baethgen remarks (*Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 79), that the name of Gad does not occur in the Babylonish *Pantheon* so far as has yet been discovered. It is however probable that the name of the divinity may have been imported into Chaldæa from Syria, where the cult was especially prevalent. There are, says Baethgen, numerous traces of the cult of Tyché, the Greek equivalent of the Semitic Gad, in the Greek inscriptions of the Hauran. Temples called *τυχαία*, in honour of the goddess, were built in the cities of Syria and Phœnicia, often at the expense of the community, sometimes by private liberality. In Palestine itself evidence of this worship is found in such place-names as Baal-Gad (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7. xiii. 5) and Migdal-Gad (Josh. xv. 37). The name Azgad ("strong is Gad"), Ezra ii. 12, may indicate that a Jewish family had at one time devoted itself to the service of Fortune.

The origin and identification of Meni are more obscure. It is however clear that this also was a title under which Fortune or Destiny was worshipped. The meaning of the word, "number," connects it with the calculations of Chaldean astrology, and suggests the words of Horace (1 *Od.* xi. 1-3):

Tu ne quæsieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi,
Finem Di dederint, Leuconoe ; nec Babylonios,
Tentaris numeros.

Movers (*Die Phönizier*, p. 650) traces the root in the Etruscan and Roman Minerva, and points out its occurrence in Cappadocian and Persian names. He also refers to a curious passage in Strabo, xii. p. 31, where there is a possible identification between *τύχη* and *Μήν*. Speaking of a temple of the moon named *Μήν Φαρνάκου* in the city of Sebaste, he adds : *ἐτίμησαν δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτως εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ὥστε τὸν βασιλικὸν καλούμενον ὄρκον τοῦτον ἀπέφηναν, τύχην βασιλέως, καὶ, Μῆνα Φαρνάκου.*

But apart from the question of identification of Gad and Meni there is abundant evidence that the worship of *τύχη* or Fortune was widely prevalent.

We learn from Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 19) that among the Egyptians two of the four deities who preside at birth were *δαίμων* and *τύχη*. This corresponds with the *δαιμόνιον* and *τύχη* of the LXX. (Isa. lxx. 11), and illustrates the exclamation of Leah on the birth of her son. *Τύχη* had a recognized place in Greek philosophy. Plato speaks of it as ruling all things in conjunction with God : *μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰνθρώπινα διακυβερνῶσι συμπάντα* (*De Legibus*, iv. p. 709). Aristotle also cites the opinion of those who hold that *τύχη* is a cause of things, obscure (*ἄδηλος*) to the human understand-

ing, having a divine existence and nature : *θειον τι οὔσα καὶ δαιμονιώτερον* (*Physic.* lib. ii. c. 4). On which the ancient commentator Simplicius remarks that the divine nature of Fortune may be clearly inferred from the worship paid to her (*ἐκ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν τὴν τύχην ὡς θεάν*), the temples raised in her honour, and the songs sung in her praise. Selden (*De Diis Syris*, p. 273) cites a striking passage from Pliny to the same effect : *Toto Mundo et locis omnibus, omnibusque horis, omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur et una nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arquitur, et cum conviciis colitur, etc.*¹

The Romans attached the epithet "primigenia" to the goddess Fortune, and in her honour a temple was dedicated on the Quirinal B.C. 193. The same designation, which is also found in inscriptions at Præneste and elsewhere, seems to indicate the primitive character of the worship, or else the connexion of Fortune with birth and with the progress of life. "Up to the latest times," writes Döllinger (*Gentile and Jew*, i. 99), "Tyché was revered as the dispenser of the affairs of cities and people. The division of one goddess into a number of little Tychai was pressed so far, that by degrees a Tyché of their own was attached to each

¹ Fortune is included in eleven out of thirty-one groups of gods named on the Phœnician dedication tablets in the British Museum.

family, and to each individual member of a family."

The above quotations may suffice to show how abundantly *τύχη* entered into the life and literature and the worship of the ancient world ; but one must be added from Pindar — the first of the poets to address *Τύχη* as a goddess—to illustrate an element in this cult of Fortune which is connected with the Jewish recognition of the goddess. Pindar writes (*Ol.* xii. 1-4) :

Δίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
Ἰμέραν, εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, Σώτειρα Τύχα.
τὴν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαὶ
νᾶες.

"I pray thee, Saviour Fortune, daughter of Zeus Eleutherius, protect wide-ruling Himera, for by thee are swift ships steered in ocean." In regard to the epithet *Σώτειρα* Dr. Donaldson has pointed out that "Gods who particularly favoured the mariner in his difficulties were called *σωτήρες*, —e.g. *τύχη δὲ σωτήρ ναυστολοῦσ' ἐφέζετο* (*Æsch. Agam.* 664.) *Τύχη* therefore and the divinities who possessed her attributes "would be regarded as the special saviours and protectors, not only of sailors, but of all who were engaged in the risky operations of trade. It has accordingly been suggested with great probability by Prof. G. A. Smith that this practice of "preparing a table for Gad, and

filling up mixed wine to Meni," may be closely connected with the commercial spirit which the Jews imbibed for the first time during the Exile. "The merchants of Mesopotamia had their own patron gods. In completing business contracts a man had to swear by the idols, and might have to enter their temples" (G. A. Smith, *Book of Isaiah*, ii. 62). In this way the Jewish trader would be drawn into idolatry.

If this conjecture be true,—and it carries with it the highest probability,—how closely does the whole subject connect itself not only with the commercial transactions of the present day on their speculative side, but with the spirit of gambling generally. It was quite in accordance with the teaching of Holy Scripture that games of chance were repudiated by the stricter Jews (Schürer, ii. 1, 36). Indeed so pernicious and so prevalent did the custom become that even pagan morality was shocked, and gambling repressed by law (*Hor. Od.* iii. 24, 58: *vetita legibus alea*).

It has sometimes been thought difficult to discover a principle on which to base a general condemnation of games of chance. However this may be, a sufficient justification will be found for discountenancing and condemning what Bishop Cosin calls "inordinate gaming," not only in the stern reproof of the prophet (Isa. lxv. 11), but in

the whole of the remarkable and suggestive contrast presented to the life and literature of pagan civilization by the thought, and utterance, and silence of the Bible.

IV

THE NAME ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ

THE meaning and derivation of the form *Χριστιανός* (Christian) seem hardly to have been so carefully discussed as the importance of the word demands. The aim of the following observations is to show that the new name carried with it certain associations which would account for its origin, and give a point to the witticism from which it is supposed to have sprung.

We assume for the present that the name was given to the disciples of Christ by the pagan population of Antioch. The names so far recognized in the early Church had been the brethren (*ἀδελφοί*), the disciples (*μαθηταί*), those of the way (*οἱ τῆς ὁδοῦ*), the believers (*οἱ πιστεύοντες*), the called (*οἱ κλητοί*), the saints (*οἱ ἅγιοι*) and, perhaps, we may add, as a designation bearing on the present discussion, those who are Christ's, or the men of Christ (*οἱ Χριστοῦ*, 1 Cor. xv. 23).

None of these names, however, was destined to be the permanent and distinguishing title of the

community founded by Christ. St. Luke narrates the origin of the new name as follows : " They therefore that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Antioch, speaking the word to none save only the Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them : and a great multitude that believed turned unto the Lord. And the report concerning them came to the ears of the Church which was in Jerusalem : and they sent forth Barnabas as far as Antioch ; who, when he was come, and had seen the grace of God, was glad ; and he exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord : for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith : and much people was added unto the Lord. And he went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul : and when he had found him he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that even for a whole year they were gathered together with the Church, and taught much people ; and that the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch " (*χρηματίζαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς*) Acts xi. 20-26.

On these circumstances, in which the name of

Christian originated, we remark, that the name was unknown to the Church in Jerusalem, and that St. Luke connects it with three important incidents in the progress of the Church, the first of which is the communication of the Gospel to the Hellenists (*v.* 20); and, as we learn from the Epistle to the Galatians (*ii.* 12, 14, 15), to the Gentiles also in the densely populated city of Antioch, the capital of Syria.

The second incident in connexion with the imposition of the name of Christian was the arrival of Barnabas in Antioch, the powerful and persuasive preacher, as his name, *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* (son of prophecy or of consolation) implies. St. Luke notes the fact of his preaching (*παρεκάλει*, *v.* 23) at Antioch, and makes it clear that the effect was considerable (*καὶ προσετέθη ἔχλος ἱκανὸς τῷ κυρίῳ*, "much people was added unto the Lord," *v.* 24.). By this time, therefore, the name of Christ and the existence of the community of believers would, doubtless, be widely known beyond the limits of the Church itself.

It was at this crisis that Barnabas went to Tarsus to seek Saul—the third incident recorded by St. Luke in connexion with the name of Christian. Saul was, we may be sure, in entire sympathy with the work which had been going on in Antioch. His presence would undoubtedly give a great impulse to the process of conversion

His personality, his zeal, his ceaseless energy, would arrest attention, and draw crowds to listen, as afterwards in the cities of Galatia and Asia.

The fame of the wonderful teacher would spread among the Gentiles, to whom St. Paul found himself bound by special commission to address himself. And though there would be esoteric teaching for the circle of believers, the Gospel would be freely preached to all who came to hear. We cannot doubt, therefore, that not only the name of Christ, but some of the leading words and arguments of the apostolic teaching would now be diffused among the proverbially witty citizens of Antioch, and made the subject of jesting allusion.

Other instances of the kind occurred in the course of St. Paul's preaching. At Philippi a poor slave girl caught up the word 'salvation' (σωτηρία) from the apostles' lips (Acts xvi. 17). At Thessalonica the preaching of the Messiah-King is distorted into a charge of treason (Acts xvii. 7). At Athens the keynote of the Apostle's preaching, the resurrection from the dead—*ἡ ἀνάστασις*—is fastened upon as a fitting object for mockery (Acts xvii. 32).

Now there are two topics which we may, with some confidence, assume to have been prominent in the teaching of St. Paul at Antioch: one, the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven, and of Christ as the King of that kingdom; the other, the

representation of the life of discipleship as a warfare—the thought of the ‘soldier of Christ.’

1. The first of these topics was from the beginning a note of the preaching of the gospel. The voice crying in the wilderness was the voice of a royal herald. The expressions used in Luke iii. 4, 5 are appropriate to the victorious advance of a great king. And the Lord Jesus, at His coming, confirms the proclamation of His herald. He preached the gospel of the kingdom (Matt. iv. 23). And when, after His Resurrection, He discoursed with His disciples about the future of His Church, He is described as speaking to them of “the things pertaining to the kingdom of God” (Acts i. 3). The Lord’s Prayer itself contained the words, and every believer prayed daily for the realization of the kingdom of heaven.

But to the pagan listener the terms βασιλεύς and βασιλεία meant more than king and kingdom; they meant emperor and empire. This is certainly the meaning of βασιλέα ἕτερον in Acts xvii. 7; and in 1 Timothy ii. 2, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, and 1 Peter ii. 17 τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε, the apostles are, of course, thinking of the Emperors Claudius or Nero. And the same usage is found in the later Greek historians. Consequently the words applied to Christ and His kingdom would, if taken seriously, have a treasonable significance (Acts *loc. cit.*); if otherwise taken, they would serve to point

a jest, as in the cruel mockery of the Saviour by the soldiers of Herod (Luke xxiii. 11) or Pilate. (Matt xxvii. 30.)

2. The conception of the religious life as a warfare, or campaign, is not found in the Old Testament writers ; and in the New Testament, though not confined to the Epistles of St. Paul, is more frequent with him than elsewhere, and is certainly a favourite Pauline mode of presenting the gospel. For instances of this, see 1 Timothy i. 18, *ἵνα στρατεύῃ τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν* (that thou mayest war the good warfare) ; where the article perhaps implies the familiarity of the expression ; 1 Timothy vi. 12, *ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως* (fight the good fight of the faith) ; 2 Timothy ii. 3, *ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (as a good soldier of Jesus Christ). In Colossians ii. 5 *τὴν τάξιν* and *τὸ στερέωμα* are both military terms, "orderly array, and solid front" (Lightfoot). Compare also Acts xiii. 48, *οἱ ᾧσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (as many as were ordained or "set in the ranks" for eternal life), 1 Corinthians xiv. 8 ; 2 Corinthians x. 3, 4.

If, then, a travesty of St. Paul's preaching presented to the Greek citizens of Antioch the picture of a rival Emperor, Christos, supporting his sovereignty by a military force of slaves, and Jews, and others of small account, a nickname tersely expressing the sense of ridicule would

rapidly grow into popularity. Such a nickname we believe "Christiani" to have been, as we shall endeavour to show.

The termination *-ανός*, or *-ιανός* is Latin rather than Greek. As a Greek termination it was used only in forming derivatives from the names of cities, as *Σαρδιανός*, *Ἀγκυρανός*; compare the similar form *Κυζικηνός* (Jelf, § 338 g.; Winer, part ii., § xvi.). A purely Greek formation would have given *Χρίστειοι* or *Χριστικοί*, like *Ἐπικούρειοι*, *Λυκούργειοι*, *Πλατωνικοί*, *Δημοσθενικοί*.

In Latin the termination *-ianus* or *-anus* is used chiefly in derivatives from proper names. The adjectives thus formed signify what belongs to a man or is named after him; e.g., *Æmilianus*, *Claudianus*, *Fabianus* (Madvig, § 189; Roby, bk. iii. p. 308).

From the nature of the case it follows that such derivatives usually related to persons of distinction, who had a party attached to them; hence the adjectival nouns, *Mariani*, *Cæsariani*, *Pompeiani*, *Crassiani*, *Luculliani*. Of these, it will be noted that the last two are nearest in form to *Christiani*. It will also be noted that the form became very suggestive of the soldiers or partizans of the great generals who rose to eminence in the closing days of the Republic. Compare *Brutianæ* *Cassianæque partes*, *Vellei.*, *l.* 2, *c.* 74. Under the Empire the same formation of name carried with

it the association of close connexion with the person of the Emperor. Here we have the germ idea of Christiani, soldiers attached to the personal service of the King or Emperor Christ. Such current forms in relation to imperial personages as Cæsarianus, Tiberianus, Claudianus, would readily suggest the new name. But another word came into vogue soon after this period (and may have existed previously) which affords even a better illustration. Tacitus and Suetonius narrate that under Nero a select body of Roman knights was enrolled, whose duty it was to attend on the Emperor and load him with adulation. To this body the name of Augustani or Augustiani was given. The words of Tacitus are: "Tuncque primum conscripti sunt Equites Romani cognomento Augustanorum, ætate ac robore conspicui. . . . Hi dies ac noctes plausibus personare, formam Principis vocemque Deum vocabulis appellantes" (*Annal.* xiv. 15). Compare Suetonius, Nero, 25: "Sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos, militesque se triumphi ejus clamitantibus." To this we may add the proper name Sebastian, Σεβαστιανός, the precise equivalent in Greek to Augustianus, and closely corresponding in form to Χριστιανός being a Greek derivative with a Latin termination. Moreover, the well-known Saint Sebastian was a Christian soldier in the body guard of the Emperor Diocletian; and it

is not impossible that Sebastian was not strictly a proper name, but the title of his official position.

The name, given in jest, struck the true note of the Christian life and position and aims. When the Emperor Julian (his own name a counterpart of Christian) pronounced those memorable words, "O Galilean, Thou hast prevailed," it was a declaration that, in the conflict of two empires, Christ the King had won the victory.

The name of Christian, coming as it did from a hostile source, did not at first win acceptance among the disciples. It occurs thrice only in the New Testament, viz. Acts xi. 26, Acts xxvi. 28, and 1 Peter iv. 16. In each case it appears as a name recognized by those who are outside the community of believers. In Acts xi. 26 the word *χρηματίζσαι* implies this. It was the name by which the disciples were known in their dealings with the external world. In chapter xxvi. 28 there is a tone of derision and contempt in the way in which the word is used by Agrippa. Again, in 1 Peter, the reference must be to the slave-owner or persecutor who punishes or illtreats his slave or inferior simply because he is a Christian.

Before long, however, the name of Christian came not only to be used by believers, but to be gloried in. Chrysostom, addressing the citizens of Antioch, says : *καθάπερ Πέτρος ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστόν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν*

αὕτη πρώτη ὥσπερ στέφανόν τινα θαυμαστόν, τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνεδήσατο προσηγορίαν (Homil. iii.). "As Peter was the first among the apostles to preach the Christ, so was this city the first to be crowned with the name of Christian as with a diadem of wondrous beauty."

But with its reception into the Church fresh interpretations were given to the name of Christian, and it was consecrated by associations widely differing from those with which it originated. Theophylact (on St. Mark, p. 283) speaks of the name as bringing believers into union with the name and office of Christ: Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεθα τοῦτό ἐστι, κεχρισμένοι καὶ αὐτοί, ὥσπερ τότε οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐλέγοντο χριστοί. "We are called Christians, having ourselves been anointed, just as kings used to be called anointed ones." So Theophilus: ἡμεῖς τούτου ἕνεκεν καλούμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χριόμεθα ἔλαιον θεοῦ. "We are called Christians, because we are anointed with a divine unction." Again, τῇ μετοχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐσχήκαμεν (Gregory Nyssen, iii. p. 270). "Through sharing the Christ have we received the name of Christian." Hence the name came to be intimately linked with baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem writes: τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου χρίσματος καταξιοθέντες καλεῖσθε Χριστιανοί, ἐπαληθέσοντες τῇ ἀναγεννήσει καὶ τὸ ὄνομα. "Being deemed worthy of this holy

chrism (or unction), ye are called Christians by regeneration affirming this name."

But what, perhaps, more than anything else stamped the name of Christian with an undying association of sacredness was its connexion with martyrdom. It became the test-word of faith. The martyr Lucian had but one answer to all questions, says Chrysostom. Asked what was his country, his mode of life, his ancestry, each time he answered *Χριστιανός εἰμι* (I am a Christian).

The name originally imposed by way of scorn having thus become linked with the holiest associations, an attempt was made, under the Emperor Julian, to stigmatize Christianity by a fresh word of contempt. He was accustomed, says the historian Socrates, to call Christ "the Galilean," and Christians "Galileans"; and Gregory of Nazianzus states that Julian endeavoured to enforce this change by a public decree. The Emperor's last words, already cited, marked the failure of this and all his other attempts to stamp out the name or the life of Christianity. So swift indeed was the reversal of Julian's policy that his successor Jovian refused to assume the imperial dignity until his soldiers had declared themselves Christians: *ὥς οὖν φωνὴ κοινὴ πάντοτε ἐγένετο, ὁμολογοῦσα καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι Χριστιανούς, δέχεται τὴν βασιλείαν* (As then a unanimous cry arose that they themselves too were Christians, he accepts the empire. Socr., *Eccl. Hist.* iii. c. 22).

V

THE USE OF ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ AND ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕΙΝ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

(Usually translated "*Stumbling-block*" and "*Cause to Stumble.*")

THE word σκάνδαλον (Lat. *scandalum*) occurs fourteen times in the New Testament; namely five times in Matthew (thrice in one passage), once in Luke, six times in St. Paul's Epistles, once in 1 John, and once in the Apocalypse.

The verbal form σκανδαλίζειν, which does not occur in the LXX., is found nineteen times in the New Testament; namely, ten times in St. Matthew, three times in St. Mark, twice in St. Luke, once in St. John, and thrice in St. Paul's Epistles.

The Revised Version has practically one and the same rendering for σκάνδαλον in all the passages in which it occurs, namely, "things that cause stumbling" (πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα, Matt. xiii. 41); "stumbling block," "occasion of stum-

bling," "occasion of falling." In Romans ix. 33, and 1 Peter ii. 8—a citation from Isaiah viii. 14—πέτρα σκανδάλου is translated "rock of offence"; "stone of stumbling" having been used to render the preceding λίθος προσκόμματος.

The rendering of the verb σκανδαλίζειν by the Revisers proceeds on the same lines. "To cause or make to stumble" in the active voice, and "to stumble" or "find occasions of stumbling" (Luke vii. 23) are the renderings in fifteen passages; in the remaining four the translation of the A.V. "to be offended" is retained.

The following investigation into the meaning of these words is an attempt to show that the Revisers have, to say the least, very unnecessarily narrowed the meaning of them, and have in consequence failed to express, as perfectly as might have been done, the true significance of several important passages of Holy Scripture. These remarks, therefore, are not intended merely to establish a point of verbal accuracy, but to endeavour to elicit the full force of divine sayings.

Σκάνδαλον is not found in literary Greek before the Hellenistic period. It had, however, probably had a long previous existence in the vernacular, as it has already acquired a figurative sense when adopted in the language of literature. The root meaning is said to be that of swift, darting movement, as of falling or gliding away (Curtius, *Greek Etymology*,

166). This agrees with the meaning of the cognate form, *σκανδάληθρον*, which is defined as the crooked hook or stick to which the bait is suspended in a trap, and which, being pressed or disturbed, closes the trap on the imprisoned bird or animal. Hence in a figurative sense *σκανδάληθρ' ἱστὰς ἐπῶν*, Aristoph., *Acharn.* 647, "setting word traps" in a disputation.

The scanty evidence from the classics in regard to *σκάνδαλον* points to the literal meaning of a baited trap or snare, and to the figurative meaning of enticement or allurement to ruin. This sense of the word is retained in later authors, as Alciphron, *Epistolæ*, iii. 22, *κρεάδιον τῆς σκανδάλης ἀφάψας*, "having attached a bait to the trap"; and Joann. Mosch. 3049 C (cited by E. A. Sophocles *sub voc.*) *ἐσκανδαλίσθη εἰς ἐμέ*, "was tempted to fall in love with me."

This primary thought of ensnaring through temptation, extended to a wide range of figurative meaning, seems to be applicable wherever the words *σκάνδαλον* and *σκανδαλίζειν* occur in the New Testament.

In the LXX. version of the Old Testament *σκάνδαλον* is employed to represent the Hebrew word *מִקְרָא* in eight passages, and *מִכְשָׁל* in three passages. Two other passages, Ps. l. 20, xlix. 13, where different Hebrew words are represented, need not be considered in our argument.

The precise meaning of מִקְשֵׁה, which is derived from שָׂקַף, to ensnare, is seen in Amos iii. 5 : "Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth where no *mōkēsh* ('gin' R.V., 'bait' Driver) is set for him? Shall a snare spring up from the ground and have taken nothing at all?" (R.V.). Professor Driver, in his explanation of the passage, refers to Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Ed. 1878, ii. 103, where a bird-trap is described, "consisting of net-work strained over the semicircular flaps moving on a common axis : this was laid upon the ground ; and when the bait in the middle was touched by a bird, the two flaps, by a mechanical contrivance, flew up and closed, entrapping the bird."

It will be observed that this precisely corresponds with the description given independently above of the σκάνδαλον. It is true that σκάνδαλον is not here used to translate מִקְשֵׁה ; but this is accounted for by the fact that, for some reason unknown to us, σκάνδαλον is not included in the vocabulary of the translators of the prophetic books in the LXX. In Psalm lxix. 22 γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα . . . καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον (let their table before them become a snare . . . let it become a trap, Heb. *mōkēsh*) the reference is probably to the oriental cloth or leather spread upon the ground like a net. Other passages where σκάνδαλον, representing *mōkēsh*, signifies

ensnaring or ruin through allurements are Joshua xxiii. 13 : The nations allowed to remain shall be a "snare and a trap unto you"; Judges ii. 3 : "Their gods shall be a snare unto you." So Gideon's ephod became unto him εἰς σκάνδαλον, Judges viii. 27. Michal was given to David by Saul to be "a snare (σκάνδαλον) unto him." In Psalm cxli. 9 σκάνδαλον (שׁקֵל) is used in parallelism with παγίς (Heb. פֶּה), a net or snare. In passages where שׁקֵל is not rendered by σκάνδαλον it is represented by παγίς, σκῶλον, a pointed stake; πρόσκομμα, an impediment; σκληρότητες, pains, agonies; δυσκολία, hardship or waywardness; βρόχους, snares; κοίλασμα, a pit.

לִישׁכָּה, which is represented by σκάνδαλον in three passages (Lev. xix. 14; 1 Sam xxv. 31; Ps. cxix. 165), is derived from a root signifying weakness in the limbs, and is used to express any obstruction or impediment which causes a fall. Hence, with the addition of צֶיֶר, "a rock of offence" or "stumbling-block" (Isa. viii. 14). In a figurative sense the word implies temptation to sin (Ezek. vii. 19, xiv. 3); *illicebat ad peccatum*, Gesen. *sub voc.* In passages where σκάνδαλον is not used the LXX. translators render לִישׁכָּה by πτώμα, Isa. viii. 14; σκῶλα, Isa. lvii. 14; τὴν βάσανον, Ezek. iii. 20, vii. 19 (*scandalum*, Vulg.); τὴν κόλασιν, Ezek. xiv. 3, 4, 7, xviii. 30, xlv. 12; οἱ ἀσθενούντες, Ezek. xxi. 15.

So far, then, as the evidence of the LXX. goes we find no justification for the uniform translation of *σκάνδαλον* by "stumbling-block" either in a literal or symbolical sense. Even in Leviticus xix. 14 the impediments would include pitfalls or obstruction by ropes or nets, etc. (comp. *εἰς παγίδα ποσὶν ἀφρόνων*, Wisdom xiv. 11), and in most of the passages cited the ideas of allurements and ensnaring are predominant.

In the Apocryphal books *σκάνδαλον* is used in a literal sense (Judith v. 1) of impediments laid in the plain. These may have been pitfalls, rope-entanglements, sharp stakes or "caltrops," *Lat. tribuli* or *murices*; comp. Curt. *l.* 4, *c.* 13. *Murices ferreos in terram defodisse Darium qua hostem equites emissurum credebat.* The Syriac, however, of this passage has "and laid ambushes in the field" (*Speaker's Com. ad loc.*); and a comparison with 1 Macc. v. 3 shows that this sense of entrapping by an ambush may be the meaning of *σκάνδαλα* here. In other places in the Apocrypha *σκάνδαλον* has the sense of temptation or sin through temptation; see especially Judith xii. 2: "I will not eat lest there be an offence," i.e. a temptation to ceremonial defilement.

It is in the Apocrypha also that for the first time we meet with the verbal form *σκανδαλίζειν*. Its meaning is derived from the symbolical use

of the noun. It occurs three times, and in the book of Ecclesiasticus only: in ix. 5, in the sense of being ensnared by allurements, *παρθένον μὴ καταμάνθανε, μήποτε σκανδαλισθῇς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις αὐτῆς* (gaze not on a maid lest haply thou be trapped in her penalties); in xxiii. 6 it has the meaning of being entrapped by words; in xxxii. 15 the extended force of finding difficulties in the law.

Returning to the New Testament, we find there the same group of meanings for *σκάνδαλον* and *σκανδαλίζειν* which we have endeavoured to trace in the classics and in the Septuagint. But in the New Testament both noun and verb have extended their signification, and especially the verb.

σκάνδαλον has carried with it to New Testament times the following meanings: snare, temptation or impediment, hindrance, difficulty, and (joined with *πέτρα*) stumbling-block.

Hence the verb *σκανδαλίζειν* signifies (*a*) to entrap (figuratively), to tempt to sin; and (*b*) from result of ensnaring, to check, discomfit, ruin; and (*c*) from the feelings of one ensnared, to shock, terrify, disconcert, bewilder, cause anger, resentment, doubt, difficulty.

The different passages where the words occur may be classified under these meanings: in St. Matthew xiii. 41 *πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα* are all persons and things which hinder the growth of the

spiritual life. St. Matthew xvi. 23 ὁ δὲ στραφεὶς, εἶπε τῷ Πέτρῳ, "Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ, σκάνδαλόν μου εἶ. "Thou art a snare unto Me." Thou temptest Me by the inducement of a worldly ambition to depart from the Father's will. St. Matthew xviii. 7 οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων· ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν ἔλθειν τὰ σκάνδαλα· πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται. Here the thought is of temptation, and of the sin and ruin which follow temptation. Some such translation as "Woe to that man by whom the temptation cometh" would teach Christ's lesson better than the rendering of the R.V., "Woe to that man through whom the occasion (of stumbling) cometh!"¹

The combined quotation from Isaiah viii. 14 and Isaiah xxviii. 16 in Romans ix. 33, and 1 Peter ii. 8 is not given in the words of the LXX., but is independently translated from the Hebrew. In place of πέτρας πτώμα, LXX., we have in the New Testament πέτρα σκανδάλου, representing the Hebrew צור מַכְשִׁיב. The rendering of this by "rock of offence or stumbling" is correct. But the addition of πέτρα tends to show that σκάνδαλον by itself would not be understood to mean "a stumbling-block."

¹ Dr. S. Malan, in the *Revision of the Revised Version*, p. 43, notes that the Æthiopic version of St. Matt. v. 29 renders, "If . . . cause thee to err, mislead thee"; and the Arabic, "If . . . offend, mislead or deceive thee."

In Romans xiv. 13 *σκάνδαλον* is the hindrance to the Christian life caused by needlessly raising questions of conscience; in Romans xvi. 17 *σκάνδαλα* are such hindrances as would arise from contentions within the Church.

In 1 Corinthians i. 23 and Galatians v. 11 "Christ crucified" or "the cross," is spoken of as *σκάνδαλον*. It was a shock, a surprise, a difficulty to the Jew who expected something very different in the Messiah.

St. John also uses *σκάνδαλον* in the sense of hindrance or impediment, 1 John ii. 10 ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ μένει, καὶ σκάνδαλον ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν. That is, there is nothing in him to hinder his Christian progress; love and light have made all smooth, "*qui amat iter expeditum habet*" (Bengel); or else, he that loveth his brother presents no hindrance, no cause of resentment, no difficulty in the way of belief, or offence to others.

The primitive idea of the word, "temptation to sin and ruin," may be traced in Revelation ii. 14, where Balaam is described as one who, *ἐδίδασκεν τῷ βαλὰκ βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι* (who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block,—to put temptation—before the Children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication).

In most cases the use of the verb is sufficiently

illustrated by what has been said of the noun. But the following examples are of exceptional interest: *Μακάριός ἐστιν ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί*, St. Matthew xi. 6. Blessed is he who feels no resentment from disappointed hopes, has no difficulty in recognizing Me as the Messiah. John had been perplexed and disappointed.

Γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἡ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζεται, St. Matthew xiii. 21. "Straightway falls," being grievously disappointed and alarmed at the dangers of the position into which he had been tempted to enter. This is also the meaning of the word in St. Matthew xxiv. 10 and xxvi. 31. Even the disciples would be vexed and disappointed and find difficulties when things proved different from their hopes and expectations.

Οἶδας ὅτι οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον ἐσκανδαλίσθησαν, St. Matthew xv. 12. The Pharisees resented that which Jesus had said. Here "were offended at it" of the A.V. and the R.V. is an adequate rendering if rightly understood.

In St. Matthew xiii 27 our Lord gives as a reason to His disciples for paying the temple tax to those who demanded it, *ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλίσωμεν αὐτούς*. That is, either, lest we offend them, in the sense of exciting their anger. Even if we rightly enjoy an immunity, let us pay the tax for

the sake of peace. "Facillime ubi de pecunia agitur scandalum capiunt a sanctis homines negotia mundana curantes" (Bengel). Or, lest we place them in a false and difficult position, and even bring them unwittingly into an unconscious act of sin. Comp. for this use of the word Romans xiv. 21; 1 Corinthians viii. 13.

Twice in St. John's Gospel *σκανδαλίζειν* is used in the sense of causing perplexity or difficulty in belief; chapter vi. 61. *Τοῦτο ὑμᾶς σκανδαλίζει*; and in chapter xvi. 1, *ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῆτε*, that ye be not disquieted, and tempted to lose faith through persecution.

To sum up our conclusion. We claim to have shown that in several passages of the New Testament where *σκάνδαλον* and *σκανδαλίζειν* occur the underlying original thought of enticement or temptation is included in the meaning of the word, and that in other passages where hindrance or difficulty is the predominant symbolical meaning the imagery is enriched and made more suggestive by the wider associations which we have described as properly belonging to the word.

VI

DID JOHN PREACH BAPTISM FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS?

A CRITICISM

MRS. LEWIS'S paper with the above title¹ will have been read with great interest. A very important point has been raised, the argument has been stated with great clearness, and the issue has been made to depend mainly on the grammatical construction of a familiar phrase. In this way the question has been discussed without any heat of theological controversy.

The following observations are offered in the same spirit. The phrase which comes under discussion is the familiar one, βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (baptism of repentance for remission of sins), and the first question is whether the qualifying expression εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν is to be regarded as dependent upon and qualifying βάπτισμα or μετανοίας, a third alternative that this expression is dependent on both βάπτισμα and

¹ In *Expositor* for March, 1898.

μετανοίας being rejected by Mrs. Lewis as "a most unusual grammatical construction" (p. 225). There remains however another possible grammatical construction. It would certainly not be logically or grammatically possible to make the expression *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* dependent on both *βάπτισμα* and *μετανοίας* taken separately, but it is quite possible to make it dependent on *βάπτισμα μετανοίας* taken together as one phrase. And that this has been the construction put upon the words by the Christian Churches and by a consensus of theologians it is almost impossible to doubt.

A further examination of the words will confirm this view. St. John did not preach baptism absolutely, he preached baptism with a condition. He preached a baptism of repentance, i.e. a baptism which stood in some relation to repentance. What that relation was we learn by the verbal expression : *μετανοήσατε, καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν . . . εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, "repent and be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins" (Acts ii. 38). In other words, the baptism of John and afterwards the baptism of Christ had for a precedent condition repentance (*μεάνοια*). But the baptism of John was to be followed as well as preceded by *μετανοια* : *ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μεάνοιαν* (I baptize you with water unto repentance, Matt. iii. 11). *Μεάνοια* (repentance) was to be the final cause of baptism. Baptism must

lead on to *μετάνοια*. In order to see how this could be we must consider the true meaning of *μετάνοια*. "Repentance" is an inadequate rendering. The preposition *μετά* with which the word is compounded implies change, and *μετάνοια* signifies the change of heart and life and *motive*, the "amendment of life" (A.V. *marg.*), which follows upon conviction of sin. Baptism marked and symbolized this change and became the starting point of the new life.

A further point remains. Why should John's baptism be thus characterized? Was there any other baptism from which it was to be distinguished? Expressions such as *εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο* (was baptized unto Moses, 1 Cor. x. 2), and *διαφόροις βαπτισμοῖς* (divers washings, Heb. ix. 10) certainly imply that baptism was not an unknown rite among the Jews. It is probable that proselytes were baptized; and the baptism of John does not appear to have created surprise as an innovation. If then baptism was a familiar rite, it was all the more necessary that a new teacher should clearly indicate the significance which he put upon it. This the Baptist did by the use of a qualifying word—*μετανοίας*. There is a remarkable passage in Josephus which further illustrates this necessity of definition. Josephus, speaking of John's baptism (*Ant.* xviii. v. 2) says: *οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανείσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινων*

ἀμαρτάνων παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνης προκεκαθαρμένης—a passage which Whiston translates as follows: "For that the washing with water would be acceptable to Him (God) if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness." This passage seems to indicate an unwillingness on the part of the Pharisee Josephus to admit the need of repentance or conversion for those who came to John's baptism—a misconception which shows how necessary the addition of μετανοίας was in order to exhibit the true meaning and purport of the rite.

Turning now to the expression εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν (for remission of sins), we are unable to agree with Mrs. Lewis's suggestions that ἄφεσις can bear the sense of "forsaking" in this connexion. Indeed in the instance cited from Liddell and Scott's Lexicon the rendering given to ἀφίημι is "to put away," ὀργήν (anger), "to divorce," γυναῖκα (a wife). And both in the Old and New Testaments the use of ἄφεσις in the sense of letting go or remission is too well established to need proof.

Εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν then can only mean for the remission of sins, i.e., in order that sins may be remitted or forgiven.

The further question how this is possible is purely

a theological one. But on the supposition that baptism is the outward symbol of a new and spiritual life imparted by virtue of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, it does not involve greater difficulty than such as is necessarily present in any endeavour to realize the invisible operations of divine grace.

The new life thus begun has its counterpart in the physical life. It is true that among the baptized are found murderers and liars and criminals of the worst type; in other words, men who have weakened or lost their spiritual life; but it is equally true that among those who are naturally born some are weak and diseased and all ultimately die. In each case the life imparted has been weakened or vitiated or destroyed. But still in each case a life was originally given.

VII

ST. PHILIP'S CALCULATION

(ST. JOHN VI. 5-7.)

THERE is an interesting hint of character in this incident, which, so far as I know, has not been noticed by the commentators. Our Lord, we are told, asked Philip the question to prove him. It was a trial or test of character. A little consideration will show that Philip's answer was not a haphazard guess, but the result of a swift and shrewd calculation. A penny, or denarius, as we know from St. Matthew xx. 2, was an ordinary day's wage of a labourer. This is confirmed by referring to Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 17, where we learn that the soldier's ordinary pay was somewhat under a denarius: "Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent." That being so, a denarius a day would suffice for the support of a man and his family, say, for the sake of argument, for five persons. But of course only a portion of this would be spent on food. It is a sign of famine times that a measure ($\chiοῖνιξ$) of wheat should be sold for a penny (Rev. vi. 6); i.e. that the whole of a man's wage should

go for bread (a $\chi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\xi$ being regarded as a day's provision).

If then we assume that half a denarius would provide for a family of five, a denarius would purchase provisions for ten persons. Consequently the two hundred denarii in Philip's calculation would provide amply for two thousand persons; but as he adds, "that every one may take a little," he is clearly thinking of a short allowance, and in his rapid survey of the assembled multitude he saw that the two hundred denarii would suffice, but barely suffice, to give a small portion to each one of the vast multitude, whose numbers he could not have accurately known. Each of the four or five thousand men, he calculated, might have perhaps a small half portion. St. Matthew indeed mentions women and children also; but as these are unnoticed by the other evangelists their number was probably inconsiderable, *une quantité négligeable*.

The sum of two hundred denarii then was not named without reason. And our Lord's appeal to Philip may imply that such matter-of-fact calculation was characteristic of him. There was a want of imagination, and of faith which needs imagination. The very power to calculate and make shrewd provision for the future may have been the element in his character which needed the divine rebuke of the miracle which followed.

VIII

A NOTE ON ST. JOHN VII. 52. A PROPHET OR THE PROPHET

WHEN the Revised Version of the New Testament was first issued, one of the passages, to which scholars must have turned with eagerness, was the verse which forms the subject of this note, and which as rendered by the Authorised Version and interpreted by a catena of commentators, had long been an acknowledged difficulty.

But the Revised Version afforded no help, and even in one respect seems to have still further obscured what appears to the present writer to be the true meaning of the words.

In the original edition of 1611 the Authorised Version renders the second clause of the verse in question: "Search and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet."¹ In the Revised Version the same words are rendered: "Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." *Marg.*, "see, for out of Galilee," etc.

¹ It is so printed in the Cambridge Parallel N.T., but with a small initial "p" in the Cambridge Paragraph Bible.

The one divergence between the two versions which bears on the present inquiry is the spelling of the word Prophet with a capital initial in the version of 1611 as distinct from the small "p" of the R.V., an indication that the reference is not to the Messiah Prophet of Deuteronomy xviii. 15-19 but to any prophet in general. And it must be admitted that the Revised Version is supported in this interpretation by a long line of commentators.

St. Cyril, cited in Cramer's Catena, merely points out the inconsequence of the Pharisees' reply to Nicodemus, who had not himself raised the question whether Jesus were the Christ, or the Prophet, but only asked: "Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth?"¹ This is a true remark, and shows that it was not the actual question of Nicodemus, but his supposed concession to the popular surmising expressed in v. 40—"This is of a truth the Prophet"—that roused the indignation of the Pharisees. No note is added on any further difficulty in the verse.

Poole in his synopsis of interpretation writes on the passage: "We must take the words to refer not to one prophet in particular but to any. What the Pharisees assert is that no Galilean has ever been gifted with the prophetic spirit"; and again, "They

¹ τί γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος; ὅτι προφήτης ἐστίν; εἶπεν ὅτι ἀκριτον ἀναιρεθῆναι οὐ δεῖ. Cramer's Catena, *ad loc.*

infer the present from the past,"¹ i.e. because no prophet hath arisen, therefore no prophet shall arise. The instances of Nahum and Jonah are then cited in refutation of the statement that no prophet hath arisen out of Galilee.

Other Commentators follow to the same effect. Maldonatus, for instance, a Roman Catholic writer, uses almost the same language as the Protestant interpreters quoted in *Poli Synopsis*. "From past example they make conjecture as to the future, not only that the Christ or Messiah, but that not even any prophet could come from Galilee. They argue, No Galilean has been a prophet, Jesus is a Galilean, therefore He is not a prophet. A foolish style of argument indeed."²

Bengel ignores the difficulty. In more modern times Bishop Christopher Wordsworth,³ after noting

¹ *Quod Propheta nullus.* Non de uno sed de quovis Propheta accipe . . . nullus aiunt Galilæus unquam a Deo donatus est spiritu prophetico . . . colligunt ex præteritis præsentia. *Poli Synopsis ad loc.* In spite of these remarks the Greek text cited by Poole has ὁ προφήτης, a reading justified indeed by no authority, and yet pointing to the interpretation upheld in this note.

² Ex præteritis enim exemplis de futuro conjecturam faciunt, non solum Christum Messiam, sed ne prophetam quidem esse posse, cum Galilæus sit; quasi argumententur: Nullus unquam ex Galilæa propheta extitit; ergo iste, qui Galilæus est, propheta non est. Ineptum prorsus argumenti genus. Maldonatus, *ad loc.*

³ Greek Test., *ad loc.*

the fact that Jonah and Nahum, and perhaps Elijah, were Galilean prophets, adds: "So they prove themselves ignorant of their own history while they condemn Christ." Alford¹ says: "*προφήτης* cannot mean *the* Prophet or the Messiah. It was not historically true; for two prophets at least had arisen from Galilee, Jonah of Gathhepher and the greatest of the prophets, Elijah of Thisbe, and perhaps also Nahum and Hoshea." Godet has a note to the same effect. Westcott² paraphrases, "Galilee is not the true country of the prophets; we cannot look then for Messiah to come thence. The words have that semblance of general truth which makes them quite natural in this connexion, though Jonah Hoshea, Nahum, and perhaps Elijah, Elisha and Amos were of Galilee." Archdeacon Watkins³ writes: "Their generalization includes an historical error which cannot be explained away. . . . The Sanhedrin, in their zeal to press their foregone conclusion that Jesus is not a prophet, are not bound to strict accuracy," etc. The last Commentator whom we shall cite is Dr. Plummer⁴ who says: "Either their temper makes them forgetful or in the heat of controversy they prefer a sweeping statement to a qualified one. . . . Anyhow their statement is only a very natural exaggeration.

¹ Greek Test., *ad loc.*

² *Speaker's Commentary.*

³ St. John in Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers.*

⁴ *The Cambridge Bible for Schools.*

Judging from the past Galilee was not very likely to produce a prophet, much less the Messiah."

What strikes one in reviewing this remarkable consensus of interpretation is, that, except St. Cyril, not one of the Commentators notes the important fact that the words of the Pharisees are not a direct reply to Nicodemus. The reference in their answer is not to the question of Nicodemus, but to what was no doubt in his mind and in the minds of the "officers" (v. 45) and of the people generally (v. 40).

The question had not arisen whether Jesus was *a* prophet, but a far more awful and important one, whether He was *the* Prophet or Messiah (v. 40, and comp. chap. i. 20-5).

All the remarks therefore about the Galilean prophets, Jonah, Nahum, Hosea, are beside the mark. Each Commentator has seen in turn that if the reference is to these it was absolutely unhistorical, and absolutely futile as an argument. For even if no prophet had arisen out of Galilee how could it be adduced that it should be so in the future?¹ It was false history and bad logic; and it is difficult to believe that even in the heat of disputation these learned members of the Sanhedrin should have thrown out such an ill-founded and foolish argument to a well instructed

¹ Potest Deus præter consuetum morem agere. *Poli Synopsis, ad loc.*

Rabbi like Nicodemus. They could not have been so ignorant of their own history as Dr. Wordsworth would have us believe, nor so illogical as Maldonatus represents them to be; nor, with Dr. Plummer, can we consider it "a very natural exaggeration." We agree with Archdeacon Watkins that if the Pharisees meant what they are interpreted to mean, "their generalization includes an historical error which cannot be explained away." The fact is that the interpreters have failed through not considering the passage as a whole. The key to the explanation of *v.* 52 lies in its close connexion with *vv.* 40, 41. There we read: "Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth the Prophet; others then said, This is the Christ."

The Prophet and the Christ are here equivalent terms. In popular expectation they stood on the same level. And in Acts iii. 22 St. Peter clearly identifies the Christ with the Prophet. Comp. also St. John i. 21, 25, where the Prophet is distinguished from Elijah, who was also expected, but only as a forerunner of the Messiah.¹

¹ For the Rabbinical teaching about the prophetic side of the Messiah's work see Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.*, ii. 664 foll. *Messiam esse Prophetam clarissimum est. Quamvis enim nomen Prophetæ ipsi in scriptis Judæorum non sæpe tribuitur, tamen res ipsa ab iisdem docetur, Messiam scilicet doctorem esse et Pastorem qui ea quæ divinitus acceperat populum docuit totamque Dei voluntatem nobis revelavit.* It is noticeable that the false Messiah, Theudas,

Some among the multitude, instructed probably by the Pharisees, set themselves to refute these thoughts and surmisings, and first they addressed the unlearned multitude, "the people of the earth," and, by what seemed to them a crushing argument, showed the impossibility of Jesus being the Christ: 'What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?'

The scene is then changed. The officers commissioned to apprehend Jesus return to the Pharisees without their prisoner. They excuse their failure by saying, "Never man so spake." Never, that is, was there prophet like this. This time the rulers try the plan of 'employing authority to stifle truth.' "Hath any of the rulers believed on Him, or of the Pharisees?" adding: "This multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed." Then a more formidable questioner comes forward not to oppose, but to urge the claims of reason—"Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth?" As we have seen, the form of the question is quite ignored, but the underlying thought of it is angrily refuted—"Search, and see claimed to be a (or the) prophet (προφήτης ἔλεγεν εἶναι, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 5, 1). So also the Egyptian named Acts xxi. 38 (προφήτης εἶναι λέγων, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8-6). It was a title familiar enough to attract attention and to stir enthusiasm.

that out of Galilee Prophet ariseth not." Now the only prophet to whom the Pharisees could possibly allude must be the Prophet of popular expectation named in *v.* 40, together with the Christ suggested by the excuse of "the officers" and involved in the question of Nicodemus. The only objection that can be taken to this is a grammatical one founded on the absence of the article before *προφήτης*.

We believe, however, that this absence may be justified (*a*) on general grammatical principles, and (*b*) still more convincingly by Greek Testament usage in the case of *χριστός* and *ὁ χριστός*, which we have shown to be synonymous with *προφήτης* and *ὁ προφήτης*.

(*a*) First, then, the article is omitted with proper names, or with names which have come to be used as proper names, such as "father," "mother," "king," especially the Persian King (*βασιλεύς*), *υἱός*, *παῖδες*, *θεός*, *ἄνθρωπος* (Jelf, § 447, obs. 1; Clyde, p. 11, § 5, obs. 2 and 3). Under this rule would come *χριστός* and *κύριος*. In 1 Cor. xv. 58 *κύριος* occurs first with, and then without the article (Clyde, *loc. cit.*).

The article, again, is omitted before nouns denoting objects of which there is only one in existence, as *ἥλιος* (sun), *γῆ* (earth). It is omitted before *πόλις*, *ἄστυ*, *ἄγρος*, where the context leaves no room for doubt as to the particular town, field,

etc., intended (Winer, 148). Also when the word is sufficiently definite by itself from familiar reference, so that it does not need the article (Thompson, *Greek Syntax*, p. 31), somewhat in the same way as is done by the Greek orators as to the name of the adversary in a lawsuit (Blass, § 46, 10, 11).

All these seem to be more or less analogous cases to the omission of the article before *προφήτης*, a term that had so completely established itself in Messianic language as to have become a quasi-proper name. The form of the sentence (v. 52b) is brief and passionate with the imperious aorists, *ἐρεύνησον καὶ ἴδε*, 'search and see,' not the calm imperfect, as in chap. v. 39, *ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς*—'search continuously the Scriptures.' In an utterance like this, if anywhere, it would be natural to omit the article. Even the object of the verbs 'search and see' is omitted.

(b) But by far the strongest justification for the view here taken—that by *προφήτης* (v. 52) is meant the Prophet predicted by Moses and referred to in v. 40 of this chapter—lies in the analogous usage of *χριστός*, sometimes with the article and sometimes without.

As seen from this and other passages *ὁ χριστός* and *ὁ προφήτης* were equally in the mouths of men. That they should therefore have the same grammatical experience is reasonable to suppose.

If therefore we substitute 'Christ' for 'prophet' in this passage, it will help to illustrate our contention. If we were to read, "Search and see that Christ ariseth not out of Galilee," it would be seen that there is no need of the definite article. But of this anarthrous use of *χριστός* there are abundant samples, especially in the Pauline Epistles. A few instances will suffice: *τέλος γὰρ νόμου χριστός*, Rom. x. 4 (note that *νόμου*, the Mosaic law, is also without the article). *ἀπέστειλέν με χριστός*, 1 Cor. i. 17 (*ὁ χριστός* being found a few verses before, i. 13). *χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν . . . εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἅγια*, Heb. ix. 11, 12. *χριστός ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*, 1 Pet. ii. 21.

It may also be taken into consideration that in the famous prophecy of Moses (Deut. xviii. 15-19) the Hebrew *נָבִי* and the *προφήτην* of the LXX. version are without the article. There is probably a mental reference to this determining passage in the words of the Pharisees, which makes their answer equivalent to a quotation.

A word may be added about the reading. R.V. rightly restores *ἐγείρεται*. The perfect, *ἐγήγερται*, which appears in some of the later codices, was introduced under the impression that these words contained a reference to the past, and that the impossibility of any prophet arising out of Galilee could be inferred from that fact.

The interpretation proposed in this note vindicates the true reading. *ἐγείρεται* is used here precisely as *γεννᾶται* is used in Matt. ii. 4. Herod "inquired where the Christ should be born," R.V., i.e. where your books say He is born. A nearer, and therefore a still more illustrative instance is found in the verse which gives the key to the words we are discussing (*supra*, v. 41): *Μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίος ὁ χριστὸς ἔρχεται*; "What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee?" Comp. with this: "Search and see that (the) Prophet ariseth not out of Galilee."

IX

HOSTILE AND ALIEN EVIDENCE FOR CHRIST AT PASSIONTIDE

TO a dispassionate student of history the evidence of events which comes from indirect or even hostile sources is often more convincing than the categorical statements of the writer. This is certainly true in regard to the trial, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Words uttered with a hostile intent at this momentous crisis seem by a kind of irony to acquire a strange and deep significance in an opposite sense. Several actors come upon the scene in those last hours, who are either actively hostile, or, from their position, hitherto indifferent to the great events which are taking place. These men, by their words and actions, give incidental but valuable testimony to the truth of the Gospel record ; and the object now in view is to exhibit the force and use of this kind of evidence in its proper light by collecting it from the various narratives of the Passion in which it appears.

It will be convenient to consider the evidence

in three divisions : I. The Testimony of Pilate. II. The Testimony of the Jewish Priests and People. III. The Testimony of the Roman Soldiers.

I. The Testimony of Pilate. (*a*) *The title on the Cross.* Whatever be the reasons for the discrepancies in the versions given by the different Evangelists of the title on the cross, there can be no reasonable doubt that there was a title, and that it contained the words "Jesus the King of the Jews," and that this title was not only placed on the cross but expressly defended by Pilate and deprecated by the Jewish chief priests and elders. Indeed, it is perhaps the latter circumstance that has caused the Evangelists to record the title, and has given importance to it. For Pilate, indeed, it was a title of mockery and something more. It was the crowning insult of that sad morning's scornful cruelty, to which the conception of mock sovereignty had given all its point. So Pilate wrote that title partly to please his soldiers, and to complete his cruel jest ; partly, too, to vex the Jews, and to fling back upon them in derision that name which they had for their own purposes used as a lever to enforce the condemnation of Jesus—"If thou let this man go,—who had forbidden to give tribute unto Cæsar, saying He Himself is Christ, a King—thou art not Cæsar's friend." But the word "King" impressed Pilate. He saw in

it something more than a clever device to compromise him with the Roman Emperor. In all serious earnestness he asked Jesus, "Art Thou a King then?" With these mixed motives, then, Pilate wrote the title, and once written, persisted in retaining it over the cross of Jesus. In so doing he bore unconscious testimony to the lordship of Christ.

But it was not only in the soldiers' mockery that the thought of the kingship of Christ was prominent. It gave the key-note to Passiontide from the fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy (ch. xiv. 4) on Palm Sunday to the admission of Christ Himself before Pilate: "Thou sayest it." As divine King of Israel Jesus cleansed His Father's house from pollution; as King He triumphs over Pharisee and Sadducee in argument, and passes judgment on their works and influence, and as King He foretells His final victory on the judgment day. Lastly, even if we cannot accept the ancient traditional reading of Psalm xcvi. 10, *regnavit a ligno*, it is true that as King He reigned from the cross, and Pilate's word of scorn becomes a testimony to truth in history, and a wonderful summing up of the lessons of Passiontide.

Something may be said about the precise term "King of the Jews." It is not an Old Testament expression, and in the New Testament it is found

only in connexion with the Nativity, and in connexion with the Passion of Jesus Christ. The Magi's inquiry was, "Where is He that is born King of the Jews?" (Matt. ii. 2). In the scenes of the Passion the phrase is used by the soldiers and by Pilate, but not by the chief priests and scribes, who taunt Him with being the King of Israel (Luke xxiii. 37), which is indeed a Messianic title, as we see from Nathanael's address to Jesus, "Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 49).

To the Oriental Magi and the Romans, however, the title "King of the Jews" would connect itself with the vague Messianic expectation which had become prevalent in the East. For Herod it is equivalent to the predicted Christ, for as soon as he hears that inquiry is being made for the "King of the Jews" he puts the question to the Sanhedrin where the Christ should be born.¹

¹ See Schürer, i. 1-292, Eng. Trans. Aristobulus (B.C. 105-104) was the first of the Maccabean family to assume the style of King (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11, 1, and *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3, 1), and even he did not use the designation on his coins. The nearest approach to the title previous to Aristobulus is that of Simon, the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews (στρατηγός καὶ ἡγούμενος Ἰουδαίων, 1 Maccabees xiii. 42), of whom there is a striking eulogy in Ecclesiasticus, ch. i. There can be little doubt that in our Lord's day the vision of a restored Kingdom of Israel (Acts i. 6) with many of the Jews took shape and colour from the Maccabean ascendancy. It is a mark of accuracy

The title on the cross, then, was distinctly Messianic both to Jew and Gentile, and as such is a valuable testimony to a claim which Christ Himself made before both tribunals.

(*b*) *The assertion of the innocence of Christ.* But Pilate's witness did not end here. He also bore remarkable testimony to the sinlessness of Christ. When Jesus was brought before His judgment-seat, it was the interest of Pilate to please the Jews and find their prisoner guilty. We may well believe that he listened with keen anxiety to detect some point of technical guilt, on which consistently with his Roman sense of justice, he could bring himself to convict and sentence the innocent man before him. If so, the endeavour was in vain. The admission was forced from his unwilling lips: "I find no fault in Him." It was as when Jesus Himself appealed to the Jews: "Which of you convinceth Me of sin?" The only reply was a wild and frivolous charge which confuted itself (John viii. 46).

in the Synoptic Gospels that the title "King of the Jews" is always put in the mouths of Gentiles. It is the chief priests who say: "Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross" (Mark xv. 32); but the soldiers mocked Him, saying, "If Thou be the King of the Jews, save Thyself" (Luke xxiii. 37). The title was fatal to Jesus now, being used to force Pilate to condemn: as it would have been fatal to Him in His childhood if the will of Herod had prevailed.

(c) *The deference of Pilate to Christ.* But perhaps the most interesting confirmation of the Gospel narrative will be found in the attitude of the Roman Procurator towards the lowly Galilean peasant who stood before him to be judged.

It would have seemed inconceivable to Pilate himself, or the officers of his court, or even to the Jews, that a prisoner so mean and so unsuccessful could have the slightest influence on the highly placed Roman official, to whom the question of the life or death of the Jewish prisoner must have been of small account. And yet, as the questioning went on, Pilate felt himself first interested and then awed. He asked the question, "Art Thou a King then?" in all sincerity. And soon, possibly to his surprise, he found himself in the position of a disciple of Christ, asking, not scoffingly, but in earnest: What is truth? Pilate had come under the wonderful influence of Christ and felt His ascendancy.

II. The Testimony of the Jewish Priests and people. (1) The most noteworthy, both from the person and position of him who uttered it, was the word of the high priest, Caiaphas. St. John alone has recorded it. It dwelt in his mind, and long years afterwards he recalled it as a divinely inspired, though quite unconscious utterance of one who had almost a prophetic right to speak. "It is expedient," he said, "that one man should

die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not" (John xi. 49, 50. See Westcott, *ad loc.*).

The intention of the unscrupulous judge was, of course, that Jesus should be slain, innocent and holy though He was, in order to end for ever His dangerous popularity. And yet how deeply true that word was! How impressively was it fulfilled! No short formula could express more clearly the truth about the Atonement, and the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

(2) St. Matthew and St. Mark distinguish between the mockery of the passers by, and the mockery of the chief priests, scribes and elders. St. Luke does not record the first, which would not be fully intelligible to his Gentile readers, but adds the mockery of the soldiers, omitted by the other Evangelists.

The report of St. Matthew is as follows:—"And they that passed by railed on Him, wagging their heads, and saying: Thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days, save Thyself; if Thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross. In like manner also the chief priests, mocking Him with the scribes and elders, said: He saved others; Himself He cannot save. He is the King of Israel; let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe on Him. He trusted on God; let Him deliver Him now, if He desireth Him: for He said, I am the Son of God" (ch. xxvii. 39-43).

This passage contains the testimony by the enemies of Jesus in regard to : (a) the prediction of the Resurrection ; (b) The Godhead of Christ, and the divine birth ; (c) Salvation in Christ ; (d) His self-sacrifice.

The enemies of Christ, gathered round the cross in mingled hate and triumph, eagerly produce the once dreaded prediction and the high asserted claim of this leader of a lost and ruined cause. In so doing they place on record in broad lines precisely those parts of the teaching of Jesus, and those notes of His mission, which had become popularly known.

(a) *The Prediction of the Resurrection.* Though the saying about the destruction and rebuilding of the temple is cited in perverted fashion, it is valuable evidence of the authenticity of the prediction, and of the impression which it made on the people. The Evangelist St. John has explained the words as relating to the Resurrection of Jesus ; so that, at the moment they were cited in mockery, the temple of the body of Christ was being destroyed on the cross in order that in three days it might be raised again.

In another sense also those words were on the eve of fulfilment through the actual destruction of the material temple and all that it implied ; and in the rebuilding of it in the purer form of religious life and worship to be moulded and inspired by

the divine Sufferer on the foundation of the sacrifice of the death on the cross.

(b) *The Godhead of Christ.* Both priests and people agree in bearing witness by their words to the all-important fact that Jesus claimed to be the Son of God in the highest sense. This is an admission which the enemies of Christ would often refuse to make in these days. It is therefore a note of much importance. These open adversaries who stood before the cross thought they saw the refutation of that high claim visibly made in the dying Victim; but in that dark hour the Christ was "verily a God who hid Himself" (Isa. xlv. 15).¹

(c) *Salvation in Christ Jesus.* There is a special interest in that other taunt, "He saved others." Hollow, insincere, and contemptuous though the words are, they enshrine a truth very dear to Christian thought. Perhaps they were intended to bear a close relation to the name of Jesus—the Lord Saviour. To others He was a Jesus, a Lord Saviour; He cannot be a Saviour to Himself. In any case the truth is uttered. The claim of Jesus

¹ It is worthy of note also that both priests and people tauntingly demand a test of divine powers almost in the words of Satan in the Temptation. Compare, "If Thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross" (Matt. xxvii. 40) with "If Thou art the Son of God, cast Thyself down" (Matt. iv. 6),

Christ to be a Saviour is affirmed by those who thought Him impotent to save.

(*d*) *The self-sacrifice of Christ.* "Himself He cannot save." So Jesus would have said Himself. In a true sense He could not, and He would not save that life which He came to offer on the Cross for our sins. Himself He cannot save; for as He Himself taught, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it."

III. The testimony of the Roman soldiery.

(*a*) *The Roman Centurion.* It has often been noted that the centurions named in the Bible are distinguished for the integrity and excellence of their character. This is not to be wondered at; for as the Roman centurion was not chosen so much for impetuous courage as for judgment, firmness and presence of mind, there were doubtless many noble and thoughtful characters among them. (Comp. Polyb. Hist. vi. 24-9: Βούλονται δ' εἶναι τοὺς ταξιάρχους οὐχ οὕτω θρασεῖς καὶ φιλοκινδύνους ὥς ἡγεμονικοὺς καὶ στασίμους καὶ βαθεῖς μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς κ.τ.λ.)

In this instance the wonderful scene of which he was witness made a deep impression on the centurion's mind. According to the first two Synoptists the words in which his thought found utterance were: "Truly this was the Son of God"; according to St. Luke: "Certainly this was a righteous man." It is possible that both

utterances were made; it is also possible that St. Luke interpreted the expression for his Gentile readers. But the interest of the word is that it was probably suggested by the taunts of the chief priests, and that what the centurion had heard and seen in that eventful watch compelled him to turn the word of mockery into a confession of the truth. It was another instance of the effect of that wondrous personality working on a heart prepared for faith.

(b) *The guard at the Sepulchre.* The proceedings of the soldiers of the guard are narrated with a minuteness which seems to imply that one or more of them became personally known to the disciples of Christ. The most interesting part of their evidence is concerned with what they witnessed at the sepulchre. It is recorded by St. Matthew xxviii. 4 and 11. From these passages it appears that the guard saw the angel of the Lord descend and roll back the stone from the entrance to the sepulchre, and they did shake (*ἐσείσθησαν*) and became as dead men. The two Marys were also at the sepulchre, experienced the earthquake, and saw the angel, who consoled them with the tidings that the Lord had risen. As the women were returning some of the watch entered the city and announced to the chief priest all that had taken place.

It thus appears that these soldiers were the first

to bring the news of the Resurrection to the Jewish priesthood. They became unconsciously the first messengers of good tidings to Sion. But it is clear that we have not the whole of their evidence. Part of it is for ever inaccessible. That they had assured themselves of the disappearance of the body of Jesus is proved by the action of the chief priests. But we may be certain that the risen Lord did not show Himself either to these or, at that moment, to the women.

The action of the priests is striking, and characteristic of themselves, and of the times in which they lived. The precautions taken beforehand to guard the sepulchre indicate a knowledge of the prediction of the Resurrection, and a fear of its fulfilment. The enormous bribe, which would be necessary to commit the guard to a statement which would be fatal to them, unless supplemented by a further enormous bribe¹ to secure their immunity from punishment, is a measure of the importance they attached to the soldiers'

¹ The confidence with which the chief priests calculated on bribing Pilate throws light on the vicious administration of Roman provincial government. It was a confidence justified by many precedents. The trial of Verres, Prætor of Sicily, gives ample illustration of this. See Cic. *in Verrem*, i. 40 foll. In a letter of Agrippa I. cited by Philo the "corruptibility" of Pilate is spoken of. For the general rapacity of provincial governors see Sueton. *Tiberius*, 23; Tac. *Annal.* i, 8, iv. 6.

message. The absolute incredibility of their story was probably one of the causes which facilitated the Apostles' witness to the Resurrection on the Day of Pentecost and afterwards.

Although the testimony thus cited does not prove the truth of the Resurrection, or the divine nature of the Christ, it does prove that the prediction of the Resurrection was widely known in Jerusalem; and that the knowledge that Jesus claimed to be the Son of God was not confined to the narrow circle of the disciples, but had spread both among the people and the chief priests and elders. It is also valuable as proving the complete inability of the enemies of Jesus to formulate any genuine charge against Him. Like Pilate they too could find no fault in Him.

Further, the attitude of so cruel and unscrupulous a judge as Pilate towards Jesus, and the conviction of the stern Roman centurion that he had been witnessing the death of a just and innocent man, or even the Son of God, as the priests had called Him in cruel mockery, proved, as clearly as the attestation of a disciple, how commanding and impressive were the presence and personality of Jesus Christ.

Still more valuable is this unwilling testimony of the enemies of Christ for the encouragement which it gives to the Church in the darkest hour for hope and final victory, though at the moment

every external sign may point to failure and defeat. For never did cause seem more irretrievably lost, or hopes more fatally crushed, than when the Son of God hung upon the cross, exposed to cruel taunts and mockery, and deserted by His nearest friends ; and yet, even then, the victory was being won and the hopes assured.

X

THE FIRST ACT OF THE APOSTLES— THE ELECTION OF MATTHIAS

THE election of St. Matthias, recorded in Acts i. 16-25, has at least three points of definite and unique interest. (1) It is the first act of the apostles after their separation from the visible presence of their Master. (2) It is the one act recorded as having taken place during the interval between the Ascension and the Day of Pentecost. These two points of themselves give a certain prominence to the act, and in a way force upon us the question of its significance. (3) Again, it is unique in the history of the Church, as the one instance of election into the apostolate. The act was never to be repeated; it was unprecedented, and created no precedent.

The place of Judas was supplied by the election of Matthias; but when St. James was slain by the sword of Herod, he had no successor among the Twelve. St. Paul alone of men after the Day of Pentecost took the rank and position of an apostle of the Lord in the confined and higher sense in

which we are now using the word. But St. Paul was chosen to be an apostle by the immediate act of Jesus Christ and of God the Father, not deriving his authority, as he is careful to state, either from a human source or through the channel of a human ministry: (οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, Gal. i. 1).

But though isolated and distinct in one aspect, this act has nevertheless a close and important relation to the history of the Christian ministry.

This we will consider further on.

1. To return to our points. Considered as the first independent act of the Christian brotherhood, it is important to note that it bears the impress of the presence and controlling influence of Christ Himself. The key to the interpretation of this incident is to regard it as the act of Jesus wrought by the ministration of the apostles. With St. Luke, indeed, each and all of the acts of the apostles are the acts of Jesus,¹ and in this initiative of Christian action there are clear traces of the Master's will and guidance. We see this (1) in the position,

¹ In i. 1 the first book, or the Gospel narrative, is explained as containing a record of all that Jesus *began* to do and teach; in ii. 38 baptism is into the name of Jesus Christ; in ii. 47 the Lord (Jesus) added to the Church those who were being saved; in xvi. 9 it is the Spirit of Jesus which directs the apostolic journey; in xviii. 9 and xxiii. 11 St. Paul is encouraged by a vision of "the Lord," who was indeed the immediate instrument of his conversion, ix. 5; comp. 1 Cor. i. 1, Gal. i. 1.

naturally as it seems, accorded to St. Peter and taken by him ; (2) in the exceptional character of the event, both as to the time of its occurrence—an unlikely one to have been chosen by the unassisted judgment of the apostles ; and (3) in the order of procedure, exceptional in its character, and yet unhesitatingly followed ; (4) in the preservation of the incident by St. Luke, which proves its acceptance as an inspired act by the post-Pentecostal Church ; and (5) above all in the direct appeal to Jesus Christ in St. Peter's prayer.

2. The next point is the occurrence of the act in those ten days of waiting for the promise of the Father. Although *a priori* human conjecture might have assigned an act of this importance to the direct and personal ministration of the risen Lord, or else to the Church after the fuller inspiration of Pentecost, it is possible to see a fitness and educative helpfulness in the particular moment and method of this choice of a new apostle.

(1) It was an act of hopefulness. Nothing could have better served to inspire confidence in those days of anxious expectation than an act like this, which gave assurance of the presence of Christ, and which indicated preparation for the opening of a new experience in the realized kingdom of God.

(2) It was an act of high responsibility, which would nerve the apostles for the exercise of authority.

(3) It seemed divinely fitting that when the Church began her history the number of the apostolate should be complete ; that the Church should actually be built on the foundation of the twelve apostles ; that not one should be lacking from among the number of the judges of the twelve tribes of Israel.

When the day of election arrived, the disciples were gathered together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, *v.* 15, must be regarded as a Hebraism). It is extremely unlikely that the place of meeting was in the temple, as some have conjectured from a too literal interpretation of Luke xxiv. 53. The upper room (*v.* 13), as Lightfoot remarks (*Hor. Hebr.*, vol. viii. p. 363), came to be used technically of a Rabbi's lecture-room, or *beth midrash*, in which religious discussion took place, so that his disciples were called "sons of the upper room." The upper chamber at Troas (Acts xx. 8) was a room of this kind, and in such upper rooms we may perhaps see the origin of Christian Churches. The number of those present is stated to have been "about (ὥς) one hundred and twenty." It is not probable that this number included all the adherents of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem at the time. The precision of the stated number, one hundred and twenty, combined with the indefiniteness produced by ὥς is remarkable. Possibly a sense of congruity and fitness in the number as ten times that of the apos-

tolic twelve struck the narrator, who noted it, but, as a point of accuracy, added the qualifying particle.

St. Peter approaches the election without hesitation—the result, probably, as we have indicated before, of the Lord's direction. He puts the election before the brethren as a divine necessity for the fulfilment of Holy Scripture (*ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν κ.τ.λ.*, *v.* 16; *δεῖ οὖν*, *v.* 21; with this compare Luke ii. 49, xxiv. 26).

In defining the aim and work of an apostle as *μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι* (to become a witness with us of His Resurrection) St. Peter recalls the Lord's words (chap. i. 8), *ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες* (ye shall be My witness). Henceforth the characteristic note of apostolic preaching was to be their testimony to the truth of the Resurrection, as it was the crucial test and saving hope of the Christian disciple (1 Cor. xv. 13–17). “*Qui resurrectionem Christi credit omnia credit quæ progressa et secuta sunt*” (Bengel).

(1) The first step in the procedure of election was to limit the choice to the number of those who had been closely associated with the apostles in the companionship of Jesus from the beginning of His ministry.

These “original” disciples naturally enjoyed a pre-eminence in the Church. They were the eyewitnesses from the beginning (*οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται*, Luke i. 2). It is the condition which

Jesus Himself names as required of His witnesses: "Ye also bear witness because ye have been with Me from the beginning" (*καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ μαρτυρεῖτε ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστε*, John xv. 97), words which authorize, and indeed necessitate, the limitation of choice here prescribed. It is an interesting question whether the term *ἀρχαῖος μαθητής* (an early disciple, R.V.) applied to Mnason of Cyprus (Acts xxi. 16) was used generally of those who accompanied the Lord from the first, or whether it points only to a discipleship dating from the Day of Pentecost.

(2) The next stage in the procedure, the "appointment" of two of the *ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί*, probably belongs to the whole assembly of one hundred and twenty. They appointed (*ἔστησαν*) two. The same word, *ἔστησαν*, is used of the appointment of the seven (deacons) (Acts v. 6), and is classical in this sense. Comp. Soph. (*Æd. Try.*, 940, *τύραννον αὐτὸν οὐπιχώριοι χθονὸς | τῆς Ἰσθμιάς στήσουσιν, ὥς ἡνδᾶτ' ἐκεῖ*). The method of choice is not described, but it is interesting to note in this act the germ of the "cleri et plebis suffragium," or even the "plebis suffragium" alone, which Cyprian names as one of the conditions in episcopal election (see Ep. lxvii. 3 and 5).

Neither of the two appointed for election is named in the subsequent history of the Church. Nor are the qualities mentioned which commended

them to their brethren. But it is possible that the surname of Justus—the Latin equivalent of ὁ δίκαιος—may have been assigned to Joseph Barsabbas for the same reason, for which the title was given to James, the Lord's brother.

(3) In the words which follow (v. 24), a grammatical point may be noticed, namely, that the aorist participle προσευξάμενοι indicates an action identical with, and not antecedent to, the action expressed by εἶπαν, "they prayed saying." See Blass, *Gram. of New Testament Greek*, Eng. Trans., p. 197.

The prayer itself we regard as an appeal to the Lord Jesus Christ to appoint His apostle, as He had appointed the Twelve during His ministry on earth. We infer this: (1) from the loss which would result from any other interpretation to the significance of the act; (2) from the juxtaposition of ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς (the Lord Jesus, v. 22); (3) from the frequency of this form of address to Jesus, both before the Resurrection (Matt. xiv. 30, xvii. 4; Luke x. 11; John xiv. 5), and after the Resurrection (John xxi. 15; Acts i. 6, vii. 60, ix. 5, 13, xi. 8; to which may be added Matt. vii. 21); (4) from the fact that, except in the song of Simeon (Luke ii. 29) and in the prayer of the apostles (Acts iv. 24 foll.), no instance occurs in the New Testament where God the Father is addressed in prayer as Κύριε (Lord).

The rare word *καρδιογνώστα* (which knowest the hearts) indicates the true criterion of choice, inner motive and character known to God only. It is also beautifully expressive in the present connexion, as in chapter xv. 8. Occurring in these two passages only, and in both in the mouth of St. Peter, this word may be considered as pre-eminently characteristic of the apostle, who had in a special sense experienced the heart-searching glance of Christ.

The following clause is rendered in the R.V., "Shew of these two the one whom thou hast chosen." But *ἀνέδειξεν* may also mean "appoint," "declare elected." It is quite classical in this sense, as : *βασιλέα προσφάτως αὐτὸν ἀναδεδειχώς*, Polyb. iv. 48, 3 ; and in Luke x. 1, where the word occurs in reference to a like occasion, the Revisers rightly render "appointed seventy others" (*ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα*). It seems, therefore, preferable to give a signification to the word here which exactly expresses the direct action of Christ.¹ *Ἐξελέξω* (thou hast chosen, R.V.) is the aorist of an eternal fact, and so independent of time notion ; compare *ἐδόθη* Matthew xxviii. 18 ; *ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα*, Matthew iii. 17 ; *ὑπερύψωσεν* . . . ; *ἐχαρίσατο*, Philippians ii. 8.

¹ Mr. Rendall in his recent scholarly edition of the Acts takes the same view.

(4) We now come to the most interesting and distinctive part of this act of election. However strange and unfitting a recourse to the lot in a solemn moment like this may appear to the western mind, to the Jew it was a natural and reverential expedient. It was an appeal to God for decision. The element of chance so closely identified with the lot to the Greek mind (compare *διὰ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην*, Plat. *Rep.* 619D) would not present itself at all to Hebrew thought. The decision to be obtained by this process was the very reverse of a decision by chance. The result expressed a divine purpose and verdict. It was by this method that every day in the temple the most sacred functions of divine service were apportioned to the ministering priests. Thus it was that Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, on the most critical day of his life, obtained by lot the privilege of burning incense in the Holy Place : *ἔλαχεν τοῦ θυμιάσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου* (his lot was to enter into the temple of the Lord and burn incense, Luke i. 9). The "white stone" (Rev. ii. 17) is referred by Schöttgen (*Hor. Hebr. et Talmud ad loc.*) to the same custom. *Κλήρους διδόναι* does not appear to be a classical phrase for "casting lots," nor is it the phrase used elsewhere in the New Testament (cp. Matt. xxvii. 35), and some have interpreted it in the sense of giving votes. But it is a literal

rendering of the Hebrew expression, *nathan goral* (Lev. xvi. 8), for casting lots on the two goats, and there can be little doubt that this should be the rendering in this passage.

The fact that decision by lot was so familiar to the Jew, and so bound up with the customs and ritual of his race and religion, lends another aspect to this incident. It presents the election of Matthias as the last scene in Jewish religious history before the kingdom of Christ came with power. It is a link between the Jewish and the Christian Churches, a thought of the temple ministry carried to the threshold of the new dispensation.

(5) The last step in the procedure of election is the formal admission of Matthias into the number of the Twelve, *συγκατεψηφίσθη μετὰ τῶν ἑνδεκά ἀποστόλων* (he was numbered with the eleven apostles). This was probably the act of the eleven apostles, and one which, like the other acts in this procedure, finds its counterpart, as we shall see, in the election to the episcopate of the Christian Church.

The admission or reception of Matthias into the College of the Apostles, as distinct from his election, has its parallel in the ordinary forms of election to lay or ecclesiastical office in the present day: as, for instance, the admission of a Scholar or Fellow to membership of his college after election.

The word by which the process is expressed deserves a note. The verb *συγκαταψηφίζω* (to number with) is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, and neither *καταψηφίζω* nor *ψηφίζω* occurs in the LXX.; in the New Testament *ψηφίζω* is twice used, meaning to count or reckon (Luke xiv. 28; Rev. xiii. 18). In classical Greek *καταψηφίζεσθαι* means to "condemn by vote." Here the force of *κατά* must be that of thoroughness, and *σύν* implies the unanimity of the vote. It was a *συμψηφός*, a combined vote of all the eleven.

It has been already remarked that although this was a unique act it is not without its relation to the history and organization of the Church. Cyprian names three conditions as essential to the valid election of a bishop—the suffrage of the laity ("suffragium plebis" or "universæ fraternitatis suffragium," Ep. lxvii. 5), the judgment of God, and the election by the bishops of the province. In earlier times the bishop was "elected by his flock and accepted by the neighbouring bishops" (Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*, p. 27, note 5).

Each of these essential points may be traced in the election of Matthias. The suffrage of the laity, or the whole brotherhood, which bore testimony to character and fitness of the candidates ("plebe præsentē quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit," Cyprian, Ep. lxvii. 5) and elected or

gave their consent to the election of the bishop, is implied by *ἔστησαν δύο* (appointed two), *v.* 23. The judgment of God was appealed to, and felt to be given in the decision by lot following upon the prayer of the Church. The consent or election by fellow-bishops is traced in the vote of reception, which closes the procedure.

And in every subsequent call and election to the ministry in every branch of the Church of Christ it is not difficult to discern in some form or procedure the requirements and method fore-shown in the election of Matthias: (1) Companionship of Jesus; (2) Testimony of those who have known the life and character of the candidate; (3) Choice by the brotherhood; (4) The appeal to God in prayer; (5) The divine judgment; (6) The formal admission to the ministry.

But it is interesting to look back as well as forward. And if this procedure which we have been endeavouring to trace is to be attributed (as we believe it is) to the direction of Jesus Christ Himself, we might expect to find features of resemblance or identity in the choice of the original Twelve.

In giving the list of the twelve apostles St. Matthew names no preceding steps. St. Luke's account is, "And it came to pass in those days that He went out in the mountain to pray; and He continued all night in prayer to God. And

when it was day, He called His disciples, and He chose (*ἐκλεξάμενος*) from them twelve, whom also He named apostles" (vi. 13, 14). In St. Mark's account we read, "And He goeth up into the mountain, and calleth unto Him whom He Himself would ; and they went unto Him. And He appointed (*ἐποίησεν*) twelve, that they might be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach, and to have authority to cast out devils" (iii. 13, 14). And in St. Luke's account of the mission of the Seventy the words are, "Now after these things the Lord appointed (*ἀνέδειξεν*) seventy others, and sent them two and two before His face in every city and place, whither He Himself was about to come" (x. 1). Here Bengel remarks on "after these things," referring to the preceding context: "*post probationem eorum qui idonei essent ad legationem vel secus.*" Comparing those passages, we note : the prayer of Jesus, answering to the invocation for the divine decision in the choice of Matthias ; the summoning of His disciples, agreeing with the election in the presence of the hundred and twenty and out of the number of those who had been with Jesus ; then the choice by Jesus (note the use of the word *ἀνέδειξεν* and *ἐκλεξάμενος* as in Acts, v. 24), which includes the decision of God as well as the election by the eleven apostles, or, in later times, by fellow-bishops. In the Ignatian Epistles the

bishop is regarded as the representative of Christ : "we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself" (*Ephes.*, § 6). The point added by St. Mark, "He calleth unto Him whom He would, and they came unto Him," represents the response in Christ's servant to the voice of God summoning him to the ministry.

One point more deserves attention, namely, the group of suggestive words, full of meaning for the future, which are met with in this short narrative : *μάρτυρα γενέσθαι*,—the thought of testimony and martyrdom linked inseparably in the annals of the Church,—*διακονία* (ministry), *ἐπισκοπή* (bishoprick or office), *ἀποστολή* (apostleship), and *κλήρος* (lot)¹—words which not only recall the

¹ The meaning of *κλήρος* in the sense of "the clergy" is variously explained. According to Skeat (*Concise Etym. Dict.*) the clergy are so designated because "their portion is the Lord," reference being made to Deut. xviii. 2 ; 1 Pet. v. 3. The latter passage, however, cannot be in point, for the *κλήροι* there referred to are the churches or congregations over which the presbyters are placed. Nor could the Jewish priests or Christian clergy be so called because the Lord was their *κλήρος*. Rather it must be because the clergy are the *κλήρος* or choice of the Lord, an explanation which would fall in with the meaning of this passage. Suicer, *sub voc.*, quotes from Isidorus to the effect that the clergy were so called because Matthias, the first person ordained to the Christian ministry, was chosen by lot (*κλήρω*). Dean Plumptre, on 1 Peter v. 3, says that the term *κλήρος* was transferred from the congregation to the "presbyters," as being in a special sense the "portion" or "heritage" of God. Webster (*Eng. Dict.*) derives the name from the lands originally allotted to the clergy.

whole organization of the Christian ministry, but which go deeply into the theory of Christian life.

Of Matthias himself nothing further is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. This, however, is not surprising, for, with the exception of one or two incidents recorded of St. John, and the fact of St. James' martyrdom, the only acts of the Twelve commemorated are those of St. Peter. Clement of Alexandria quotes from the traditions of Matthias (*Strom.* ii. 163), and Eusebius (*H.E.* 25) mentions apocryphal gospels ascribed to Peter, Thomas and Matthias, which implies that his name carried apostolical authority. It is remarkable, however, that in the earliest named groups of the apostles the twelfth place is taken by St. Paul. Mrs. Jameson says (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 254), "that St. Matthias is seldom included in sets of the Apostles." The traditions concerning the scenes of St. Matthias' missionary labours and his martyrdom are diverse and untrustworthy.

XI

ST. PAUL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS GREEK PHILOSOPHY

Εν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν (In the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God, 1 Cor. i. 21). This statement of the inadequacy of human philosophy to discover or know God is one of incalculable importance in the history of Christian thought. To understand the significance of the words we must place them in their historical connexion. In this part of the Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul is recalling to his readers the circumstances of his first visit to them, and the subject matter and manner of his preaching on that occasion. He says in chapter ii. 1-5 : " I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, proclaiming to you the mystery of God. For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. And I was with you in weakness and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in

demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

If these words had stood alone, and if we had been ignorant of the circumstances which immediately preceded the apostle's mission to Corinth, they would have presented many difficulties. As it is, the narrative in Acts xvii. 16-xviii. 1 explains everything. It explains why σοφία (wisdom or philosophy) should have come to be so prominent a subject of discourse and argument—a glance at a concordance will show how the words σοφός (wise) and σοφία (wisdom) seem to haunt the apostle at this crisis—it explains also why St. Paul dwells on the simplicity of teaching, and also why he should have come in fear and trembling.

The most interesting incident in St. Luke's account of St. Paul's visit to Athens is his encounter with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers. It is the first recorded contact between the wisdom of the world and the preaching of the Cross. We may be certain that it was a moment of intense interest for St. Paul, and that he could listen with earnest attention to the Greek philosophic theories of life and knowledge, presented as they would be with the utmost dialectic skill and eloquence by men who defined philosophy, in their Master's words, as "an activity which, by means of words and arguments (λόγοις καὶ διαλογισμοῖς), procures

the happiness of life" (Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.*, xi. 169, speaking of Epicurus, cited Ritter, iii. 405). The word and tense (*συνέβαλλον*, Acts xvii. 18) describing the encounter imply a vigorous and sustained disputation. The arguments are not reported at length in the Acts, but it is clear from St. Luke's words that the subjects of the apostle's preaching were the revelation of God as Creator and Ruler of the world; and secondly, Jesus and the Resurrection.

On the part of the Epicureans and Stoics the dispute seems to have been conducted in a tone of supercilious contempt. This new teacher was a *σπερμολόγος*, an unscientific pretender to knowledge, bringing in strange and amazing doctrines (*ξενίζοντα*); some dismissed him with a sneer (*ἐχλεύαζον*); others desired a further hearing, but few indeed were convinced.

All this agrees with St. Paul's account in the Epistle of his arrival at Corinth. "He came in fear and trembling." The response to his preaching of Jesus and the Resurrection in Athens had been little else than contempt and ridicule. Would the same gospel be met with the same reception in Corinth? Was philosophy, in fact, destined to be a fatal barrier to the progress of the gospel?

It was a critical moment in the history of Christianity. The question had arisen, and must be decided whether Christianity could make terms

with any system of human philosophy. For an apostle to the Gentiles the decision was of special importance. For the question would be asked at the outset by every intellectual inquirer after Christ whether, in accepting Christianity, he was bound to renounce philosophy.

Greek philosophy had done so much for the elevation and purification of religion and life, its aims were so closely akin to the aims of Christianity, its scope and even its expressions seemed so capable of being merged in the Christian ideal ; again philosophy had proved so attractive to the best and loftiest characters of the pre-Christian epoch that St. Paul might well have hesitated in his repudiation. But St. Paul does not hesitate. He makes no compromise and suggests no eirenicon with the wisdom of this world. What he preaches is a *σοφία* (wisdom or philosophy) founded on the Incarnation. Philosophy, indeed, so far as it was represented by the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, had repudiated the preaching of the Cross (*ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ*). To these philosophers it was a *μωρία*, an "unwisdom" or "foolishness." For with that term St. Paul sums up in the Epistle the reception given to the gospel at Athens.

And while for one moment the apostle, in a vein of irony, accepts the reproach of *μωρία* (foolishness), in the next he turns the charge back against his opponents. It is not the preaching of the Cross,

but the wisdom of the world, which is in a true sense a *μωρία* (foolishness): οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου (hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? 1 Cor. i. 20), and ἡ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν (the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, 1 Cor. iii. 19). For what is the test? The test is success. The philosophy which best achieves its end is the true *σοφία* (wisdom), that which fails to achieve its end is a *μωρία* (foolishness). And St. Paul claims for the preaching of the Cross that it achieves the end of philosophy, both on its speculative and ethical side.

Σοφία (*sophia*) or philosophy is defined by Aristotle to be a science of the highest objects (*ἐπιστήμη τῶν τιμιωτάτων*, Arist. *Eth.*, vi. 7), in other words, a science of the Divine; it is *θεολογική*, that by which God is apprehended. With this definition St. Paul would agree. In 1 Corinthians i. 21 he implies that *σοφία* (wisdom) is a *γνώσις τοῦ θεοῦ* (knowledge of God), and both in the Acts (xvii. 23, 30) and in the Epistle he contends that the *σοφία τοῦ κόσμου* (wisdom of the world) had failed to apprehend God—οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν (the world by wisdom knew not God). On the other hand, he claims for the preaching of the Cross that it is *θεοῦ δύναμις* (the power of God), as well as *θεοῦ σοφία* (the wisdom of God).

As *θεοῦ σοφία* (the wisdom of God) it is a

divine apocalypse by means of the indwelling πνεῦμα (Spirit), which every Christian possesses—*ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ* (unto us God revealed Him through His Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God. ii. 10). And again: *ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν* (we have the mind of Christ, ii. 16). Thus is Christian philosophy founded on the Incarnation. The Christian discerns God because Christ discerns Him. It was a high claim, which at once placed Christian philosophy in a position distinct from, and more authoritative than the wisdom of the Greeks. The recognition of a divinely implanted perceptive faculty creates a new philosophic standpoint. "The main evidence of the Revelation to us consists in its harmony with the voice of the spiritual faculty within us," says Dr. Temple (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 204).

The preaching of Christ crucified is no less effective in moral action: it is *θεοῦ δύναμις*, a divine force (1 Cor. i. 24), issuing from the Resurrection (Phil. iii. 10), working in the Christian with a view to salvation (Rom. i. 16). St. Paul's life and teaching and spiritual experience are to be viewed in the light of the *σοφία* (wisdom), which he thus explains. The Apostle is throughout conscious of the working of the divine power within him (*κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*, Eph. iii. 7). "I

can do all things," he says (Phil. iv. 13), ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με (in him that strengtheneth me), i.e. not necessarily and specifically Χριστῷ (Christ), but by the force within me, which is my very life. This indeed is St. Paul's revelation; the Christian philosophy is the Christian life, a divinely implanted power which enables Christians to discern and to live. It is the higher instinct which the Christian may trust, as the lower creatures trust the lower instinct.¹

Such is St. Paul's exposition of the divine σοφία (wisdom or philosophy) in contradistinction to the human σοφία which has failed to see God or to guide life. The point, however, may still be raised whether in these strictures on ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία (human wisdom) the Apostle intended to condemn and reject philosophy in general, or those forms only of Hellenic philosophy which had been presented to him in persuasive eloquence (1 Cor. ii. 4) at Athens, the schools, namely, of Epicurus and Zeno. No doubt the conclusions of the Athenian philosophers were those which he was mentally combating in this passage, and which he emphatically repudiates in favour of Christian philosophy. And indeed, though originally con-

¹ "Yea, the stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the swallow and the crane observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the ordinance of the Lord." (Jer. viii. 7.)

taining lofty conceptions, both of those systems had grown degenerate at this epoch. The only ethical end of Epicureanism was to avoid pain and escape the evils of life. Stoicism denied any reality except that which was material; regarded as things indifferent or defensible the impurities and falsehoods of pagan life, which Christianity has unconditionally condemned; and found itself "compelled to admit that true virtue, and with it true knowledge also, is far from the reach of man." (Ritter, *Hist. of Philosophy*, iii. 596.)

Such teaching was absolutely incompatible with Christianity, and with a philosophy founded on the Incarnation. But it by no means follows that the highest and purest thoughts of the great thinkers of Greece were to be repudiated. In that large claim which St. Paul makes for Christianity in Philippians iv. 8 the nobler gifts with which Hellenic philosophy has endowed mankind are assuredly included.

In retaining the word *σοφία* (wisdom) in the Christian vocabulary, St. Paul must have foreseen the possibility of some unwelcome associations gathering around it in the progress of history. But there are two reasons which may have determined him in the retention of a word charged with alien meaning.

1. For three hundred years *σοφία* (wisdom) had had an acknowledged place in Hebrew religious

nomenclature. To the Greek-speaking Jew it represented *Chokmah*, or wisdom, and round "wisdom" a literature had grown up, and associations of the highest spiritual importance had gathered. Accordingly, to the Jew *σοφία* (wisdom) brought a well established meaning, very different from that which it conveyed to the Greek. "Wisdom" is a divine emanation, created before all other things (Ecclus. i. 1, 4); the source of all knowledge; the artificer of all things (Wisdom vii. 22). It is therefore the creative power of God: "By Thy wisdom Thou formedst man" (Wisdom ix. 2). Again, "Wisdom ordereth all things graciously" (Wisdom viii. 1); it is "a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the power of the Almighty, . . . an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of His goodness" (Wisdom vii. 25, 26). A word laden with such thoughts was too precious not to be employed afresh as a help for the expression of Christian truth.

2. But what must have influenced St. Paul more than anything else in his retention of *σοφία* (wisdom) was, doubtless, the use of that word, or of its Aramaic equivalent, by our Lord Himself (St. Mark xi. 19; St. Luke vii. 25), and the ascription of the same divine *σοφία* to the Child Jesus (St. Luke ii. 40, 52).

It was inevitable however that the Christian use of σοφία (wisdom) should bring it into relation with successive schemes of philosophy as time went on. This has sometimes been done with the happiest and most reassuring results. At other times a new philosophy has seemed to threaten the existence of Christianity. Sometimes, again, Christian dogma has been put into the mould of the current philosophic system, and when the philosophy has passed away the form of doctrinal expression has remained. This has been a fruitful and unceasing cause of dissension among Christians. One of the most important tasks, therefore, of each Christian epoch is to clear away the accretions which have gathered round its truths owing to the surviving expressions of philosophic systems, which have themselves been discredited and forgotten, and to restate Christian doctrine in forms which rest on an original basis of apostolic teaching.

As a first step in this endeavour it may be of service to examine the use and avoidance in the New Testament of current philosophic terms. This we propose to do in the following 'study,' in the hope that an examination of this kind may help to reveal a principle on which fresh scientific theories or discoveries should be treated from time to time by Christian thinkers.

XII

THE USE OF PAGAN ETHICAL TERMS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

WE have seen that in repudiating *ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία* (human wisdom) St. Paul, fresh from disputation with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, intended primarily, at any rate, the rejection of those theories and arguments, which had been advanced against the preaching of the cross at Athens.

At the time indeed, and in after ages, this contrast between the *σοφία τοῦ κόσμου* (wisdom of the world) and the *σοφία Χριστοῦ* (wisdom of Christ) necessarily produced wide and deep results.

But from the first it was apparent that philosophy and Christian doctrine touched at many points and attacked the same problems ; and that often they were brought into an agreement, which was sometimes indeed verbal and misleading, but not infrequently essential and true.

For instance, the conception which ran through all ancient philosophy, and is essentially Platonic,

that "like apprehends like," reappears in the Pauline statement, "Who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man, which is in him? Even so the things of God none knoweth save the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. ii. 11). It appears in its modern form as an argument against materialism: "That which requires reason and thought to understand must be itself thought and reason; that which mind alone can investigate or explain must be itself mind. And if the highest conception gained is but partial, then the mind and reason studied is greater than the mind and reason of the student" (Prof. Baden Powell, cited by Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 16). The same principle is used by Romanes as an argument against an agnostic denial of God, "For no one is entitled to deny the possibility of what may be termed an organ of spiritual discernment."

Again, the existence and attributes of God are treated by Aristotle and by the later philosophers in terms that approach very closely to the Christian expression. Thus Aristotle conceives of God as the prime mover, Himself unmoved, immaterial and immutable, and existing independently of time and space, and eternal (ζῶον αἰδιον).

The Aristotelian notion that the life of the wise is in virtue of the indwelling divine element, is common to many philosophers, and is obviously

akin to Christian thought. It is a life, says Aristotle, that surpasses ordinary experience (*κρείττων βίος ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον*), and which is lived by a man only so far as he possesses a share of the Divine (*ἢ θεῖόν τι ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει*, *Arist. Eth. Nic.*, x. 7). Then again, the leading Aristotelian doctrine of habit (*ἔξις*) is in close correspondence with the moral teaching of the New Testament, though the word itself occurs in one passage only (*Heb. v. 14*).¹

Many other instances of the same kind of resemblance might be cited. For a fuller treatment of such points of contact between Christianity and Stoic philosophy the reader is referred to Bishop Lightfoot's admirable article on St. Paul and Seneca in his edition of the Philippians. Our present point, however, is to note that there is no trace in St. Paul's writings of an attempt to incorporate or use, except by way of passing illustration, the leading terms and conclusions of Greek philosophy. The Christian philosophy of intuition and of moral guidance stands on its own basis as a result of divine revelation.

Accordingly, when we inquire into the Apostle's use or avoidance of words deeply steeped in philosophic theories of life or speculation, we find : (1) Some significantly omitted ; (2) Others named

¹ Comp. St. James i. 3, and see the note on that passage in *The Cambridge Greek Testament*.

and disparaged in the light of Christian truth, while a certain number of ethical terms unknown to philosophy are introduced into the Christian vocabulary ; (3) Some pagan conceptions, beautiful to begin with, adopted and purified ; (4) Others lowly and despised in pagan thought exalted and sanctified by Christianity.

1. Perhaps the most significant omission of Greek philosophic terms in the New Testament is that of *εὐδαιμονία* or "happiness." For, however much ethical systems differed, they were practically agreed in regarding happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*) as the chief aim and object of human desire (*τὸ πάντων ἀκρότατον τῶν πρακτῶν ἀγαθῶν*, *Arist. Eth. Nic.*, i. 2, comp. i. 8). It must, however, be remembered that, if St. Paul contemplated *εὐδαιμονία* (happiness) at all as an end, he would contemplate it as interpreted by the later philosophy of Greece, with which he came in contact at Athens ; and that "happiness," whether conceived as the Stoic *ἀταραξία* (calmness), or the Epicurean *ἡδονή* (pleasure), was equally removed from the Christian ideal.

And secondly, in rejecting *εὐδαιμονία* (happiness) as an ethical aim, St. Paul probably desired to place Christian ethics on an entirely new footing. In doing this he was acting in the spirit of our Lord's own words, who, in the Sermon on the Mount, expressly contrasts the aims which the

Gentile world set before itself with those He proposes for the Christian : ταῦτα πάντα (all those material objects of desire summed up in food and clothing) τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητεῖ, . . . ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ (after all these things do the Gentiles seek . . . But seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness, Matt. vi. 32, 33).

Doubtless the beautiful and inspiring definition by Aristotle of the perfect happiness (ἡ τελεία εὐδαιμονία, *Eth. Nic.*, x. 7) will occur to some, with its clearly suggested adaptability to Christian purposes. It is activity (ἐνέργεια) in the way of excellence, or highest development, of that which is best within us ; and that which is best within us is either intelligence (νοῦς) or a divine element in our nature, or at least that which is nearest the divine within us.

Such a definition might well serve its turn in the history of Christian thought. But the time had not come yet, and the apostle has to deal with the word as he finds it, debased and unspiritualized by mean or vicious associations. The very etymology of the word *eudæmonia*, which connected it with a pagan system of demonology, suggests an objection to its Christian use. With the Stoic the "demon" was that particular providence working in him and watching over him, which brought him into harmony with Zeus, the

conductor of the universe, and involved him in a scheme of necessity which is alien to Christianity. But the main cause which necessitated the exclusion of *εὐδαιμονία* (happiness) from the Christian vocabulary lay in the fact that the Christian revelation had projected the sphere of happiness beyond this life : " For if in this life only we have hoped in Christ we are of all men most pitiable " (1 Cor. xv. 19), a confession which so widely separated Christian ethics from all previous systems that a fresh expression was needed for the new condition of things.

Other words in this category of omission are : *ἀταραξία* (calmness), *ἀπάθεια*¹ (dispassionateness), *ἐποχή* (suspension of judgment), *προαίρεσις* (deliberate choice).

Of *ἀπάθεια*, the Stoic calmness of mind, which is the result of freedom from care or the harassing events in life, it may be said that it presents at once a parallelism and a strong contrast to the Christian conception of life. For St. Paul that life involved restless energy and unceasing conflict with pain, peril, and the powers of evil within and without. It was disturbed and agitated with rivalries and controversies and with the care of

¹ Whence our word *apathy* is derived. Horace expresses the thought in the well known lines :

" Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque quæ possit facere et servare beatum."

(1 Ep. vi. 1, 2.)

all the Churches, conditions which were inconsistent with the *ἀπάθεια* (*apatheia*) and *ἀταραξία* (*ataraxia*) of the Stoic and Epicurean. On the other hand, the Christian must be *ἀμέριμνος*, "free from cares" (1 Cor. vii. 32), and he must be a possessor of "peace." Peace (*εἰρήνη*) indeed takes the place in Christian terminology of *ἀταραξία* and *ἀπάθεια*. It covers the same ground, but goes, farther and deeper, signifying not only a state of calm security and happiness (synonymous with *ἀσφάλεια*, 1 Thess. v. 3), but also reconciliation with God as opposed to estrangement from Him, and the consequent condition of peaceful assurance the special gift of Divine grace realized through Christ. *Ἐποχή*, or "suspension of judgment," was a technical term with the sceptical philosophers. Whether the word was known to the Apostle and purposely excluded cannot be determined. The mental attitude, however, implied by the word is diametrically opposed to the Christian's assurance of faith. And a scepticism which recognized no real distinction between good and evil (*οὔτε ἀγαθόν τί ἐστι φύσει οὔτε κακόν*, *Sext. Emp.*, xi. 140) could not even come in touch with Christianity.

The omission of *προαίρεσις* or deliberate choice may be understood in view of the submission of the Christian to the will of God and the repression of self (*ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν*

ἐμοὶ Χριστός, yet I live ; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me, Gal. ii. 20). The verb *προαιρεῖσθαι* (to purpose), however, is found, but not in a technical sense (2 Cor. ix. 7). Of the words used to express the four principal Stoic virtues: *φρόνησις*, practical wisdom ; *σωφροσύνη*, self-control or sobriety ; *ἀνδρεία*, courage ; and *δικαιοσύνη*, justice (Ritter and Preller, s. 401): *ἀνδρεία* alone can, strictly speaking, be placed among the omissions of the New Testament, but the first two occur very rarely, and *δικαιοσύνη* is so entirely coloured and appropriated by Old Testament thought and its development in the New Testament as to have no real connexion with the Stoic *δικαιοσύνη* (*dikaïosunē*) which is simply "justice." The practical omission of these words, therefore, in the New Testament, notwithstanding their prominence in the Stoic system, is not without significance.

2. Of the second class of ethical terms referred to, those namely which occur in the New Testament, but are mentioned with disparagement in the light of Christian truth, the most interesting examples are *ἀρετή*, "virtue"; and *ἡδονή*, "pleasure," *ἀρετή* (*āretē*), being essentially descriptive of the Stoic, as *ἡδονή* (*hēdōnē*) is of the Epicurean, philosophy. *Ἀρετή* is used by St. Paul once only (Phil. iv. 8) ; where, in claiming for Christian consideration (*λογίζεσθε*) all that is best and purest in

civilized pagan life and thought, he closes the enumeration with the words, *εἴ τις ἀρετὴ καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος* (if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise). The juxtaposition of *ἀρετή* (virtue), and *ἔπαινος* (praise) is remarkably suggestive of ethical phraseology, while *εἴ τις* (if there be any) conveys a note of disparagement, indicating a sense of failure in realization of the ideal, an indication fully justified by the moral results of the existing schools of philosophy.

The word *ἡδονή* (pleasure) occurs five times only in the New Testament, and once only in the Pauline Epistles, viz., Titus iii. 3 (*φιλήδονοι*, "lovers of pleasure," however, occurs, 2 Tim. iii. 4, opposed to *φιλόθεοι*, "lovers of God"). In every instance it is used with the baser signification of the word. In St. Luke's report of the parable of the sower, *ἡδοναί* (pleasures) are classed with *μέριμναι* (cares), and *πλοῦτος* (riches) as the things which "choke" the growth of the good seed (Luke viii. 14); in Titus iii. 3, *ἡδοναί* are placed in a description of the pagan life as synonymous with *ἐπιθυμιαί*, "lusts" (compare for the latter synonym Mark iv. 19 with Luke viii. 14). So also in James iv. 1, 3 and in 2 Peter ii. 13, it is used of the gratification of the appetite: *ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τροφήν*, "that count it pleasure to revel in the daytime."

It is the more remarkable because, according to the definition of Epicurus, *ἡδονή* (pleasure) did

not represent by any means a low ideal of life. Pleasure was to be pursued, not for its own sake, but as a means to happiness (εὐδαιμονία). Virtue was inseparable from true pleasure, sometimes even pain was preferable to pleasure, because endurance of pain was necessary to secure the higher pleasure.

Still the New Testament view of ἡδονή (pleasure) was justified not only by the actual corruption of the Epicurean system, which gave a sting to the Horatian phrase, "Epicuri de grege porcus," but also by the widespread demoralization of society due to the cult of pleasure more than to any other cause. It is therefore permissible to see the sanctity and purity of Christian life and expression purposely secured and guarded by the exclusion of ἡδονή (pleasure) from its literature and aims. For "pleasure," even in the highest sense in which a pagan could use the word, was essentially limited to mundane and temporal gratification. It excludes the conception of immortality, and was consequently inadequate as an expression of the Christian hope.

3. While some pagan words were, as we have seen, too closely associated with the current philosophy to be safely admitted into the Christian vocabulary, others were retained as admirably adapted for the expression of the new revelation. Instances of such words are : *αὐτάρκεια* (all-suf-

ficiency), ἐγκράτεια (self-restraint), συνείδησις (conscience), ἐπιείκεια (gentleness), πραότης (meekness).

Αὐτάρκεια, "all-sufficiency," i.e., independence of external aid, lay at the very foundation of the Stoic position. It implied, on the one hand, contentedness, on the other indifference to that which happened, whether good or evil. It was characteristic of the Stoic's pride, which refused to bow to circumstances. With the Stoic, too, in accordance with his unsympathetic creed, αὐτάρκεια implied isolation, a thought which was carefully excluded from the original meaning of the word by Aristotle, with whom αὐτάρκεια is "the absolutely good" (τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν), and identical with happiness; "but," he adds, "we do not mean to limit the conception of all-sufficiency to the individual alone leading a solitary life, but we extend it also to parents and children and wife, and in general friends and citizens, since man is by nature social" (*Eth. Nic.*, i. 7, Grant's Trans.).

The contentedness or all-sufficiency of which St. Paul speaks (Phil. iv. 11), ἔμαθον ἐν οἷς εἰμὶ αὐτάρκης εἶναι (I have learned in whatsoever state I am therein to be content), rests on a sense of the presence of the indwelling Christ, who supplies a force sufficient for all things, πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ εὐδυναμοῦντί με (I can do all things in Him that strengthened me), but it brings with it no scornful repudiation of external aid or sympathy: "I rejoice in the

Lord greatly, that now at length ye have revived your thought for me . . . ye did well that ye had fellowship with my affliction" (Phil. iv. 10, 14). There is a wide difference between the all-sufficiency of the Christian in Christ and the self-sufficiency of the Stoic in self. In the two passages of the New Testament where *αὐτάρκεια* (all-sufficiency) is used (2 Cor. ix. 8 ; 1 Tim. vi. 6) there is a reference to the literal supply of earthly wants : " Having food and covering we shall be therewith content " (1 Tim. *loc. cit.*).

There is an interesting passage in Aristotle¹ on the subject of *ἐγκράτεια* (self-restraint or moderation) in which he shows that it is not precisely a virtue, but a sort of mixed quality. It is the right moral attitude in respect to indulgence in pleasure or to bearing pain ; but it is concerned with ordinary pleasures and pains. For to give way to overpowering pleasures or pains is pardonable. It will be at once perceived that in its Christian use *ἐγκράτεια* (self-restraint or temperance) has a far wider range and does not admit the limitation of overpowering pleasure, which Aristotle places upon it ; for, " God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able ; but will with the temptation make also the way of escape that ye may be able to endure it " (1 Cor. x. 13). Accordingly "temperance" in this extended sense

¹ *Eth. Nic.*, vii. 7, 5 foll.

formed a necessary part in the Christian character, see Gal. v. 22, 2 Pet. i. 6, and 1 Cor. ix. 25, where the verb is used (*ἐγκρατεύεται*)—a purely Pauline form and found in this Epistle only.

Συνείδησις, or conscience, has received a great accession of meaning and authority by its union with Christian thought. At the same time its moral value as the divinely implanted criterion of right and wrong was fully recognized by Pagan writers; comp. Dion. Hal. 6, 825, 15, *μηδὲν ἐκουσίως ψεύδεσθαι μηδὲ μαιίνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ συνείδησιν* (to speak no falsehood willingly, nor to defile his conscience). So Eur. *Or.*, 390, *τί χρῆμα πάσχεις; τίς σ' ἀπόλλυσιν νόσος; | ἡ σύνεσις ὅτι σύνοιδα δεῖν' εἰργασμένος* (What aileth thee? What fell malady is thine? Conscience; for my heart tells me that I have done grievous wrong). Compare the well known passage of Horace (*Ep.* i. 1, 60), "Hic murus aheneus esto | Nil conscire sibi nulla pallescere culpa"; and the no less familiar words of Juvenal, who speaks (*Sat.* xiii. 195-198) of a penalty more severe than any judge in earth or Hades could inflict, "Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem." This inner consciousness of divine law among the heathen is of course recognized by St. Paul as rendering them morally accountable in the sight of God. A word, therefore, which expressed the strongest of all moral forces in the world untaught by direct revelation

naturally found a home in the Christian vocabulary. There *συνείδησις* (conscience) was deepened and sanctified by the fact of the indwelling Spirit, which makes of conscience nothing less than the voice of God, the channel through which the Holy Spirit communicates with man. It is what our Lord, who does not use the word *συνείδησις* itself, means when He speaks of *τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοί*, (the light that is in thee, Luke xi. 35).

There are two ethical terms falling within this category which may truly be said to have served as a "preparatio evangelii," being destined to describe the character and personality of Christ Himself—"meekness" and "gentleness" (*πραότης* and *ἐπιείκεια*). Both of these words came into the Christian vocabulary unstained by debasing association, and both expressed the best and most Christlike aspect of pagan ethics. *Πραότης* or "meekness," however, though accepted as a virtue, is mentioned with very faint praise by Aristotle. With him it is a mean between undue or passionate resentment and slavish submission to wrong; it inclines, however, to that defect, and scarcely merits the name of a virtue (*εἴπερ ἡ πραότης ἐπαινεῖται*, *Eth. N.*, iv. 5, 3).

Contrast this with the value of "meekness" in the service of Christian thought. The adjective *πραῶς* or *πραῦς* (meek) occurs four times only in the New Testament. But in two passages (Matt.

v. 5, xi. 29) it is used by the Lord Himself; in another (Matt. xxi. 5), a quotation from Zech. ix. 9 is applied to our Lord; and in 1 Peter iii. 4, "a meek and quiet spirit" is described as very precious (πολυτελής) in the sight of God. With so great a sanction it is perhaps remarkable that the adjective is not of more frequent occurrence. The noun, however (πραότης or πραύτης) is found in numerous passages of the New Testament, and is placed in the very forefront of Christian virtues associated with humility, self-restraint, patience, and gentleness (ἐπιείκεια).

Ἐπιείκεια (gentleness), enters Christian nomenclature with higher credentials than πραότης. With Aristotle (*Eth. N.*, v. 10), it is a corrective of the strict application of justice (the ἐπιεικής being contrasted with the ἀκριβοδίκαιος); it is opposed to the spirit of exaction and severity. It is "the sweet reasonableness" of Matthew Arnold, and what Juvenal (*Sat.* xiv. 15) calls, "Mitem animum ac mores modicis erroribus æquos." It is therefore especially a virtue in masters of slaves (1 Pet. ii. 18, and Juvenal *loc. cit.*), in disputants (James iii. 17, and perhaps Phil. iv. 5), judges (Acts xxiv. 4), in those who bear rule in the Church (1 Tim. iii. 3; Titus iii. 2); and a recognized mark of the Christian character (Phil. iv. 5, let your forbearance, τὸ ἐπιεικές, be known unto all men). Joined with πραότης (meekness), it is essentially char-

acteristic of Christ (*παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς πραότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (I intreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, 2 Cor. x. 1), where *διὰ* (lit. through), expresses the motive. As *πραότης* (meekness), is the virtue of the submissive sufferer, and *ἐπιείκεια* (gentleness), the virtue of the considerate master or judge, taken together in this connexion these two terms would point on the one hand to the submission of Christ, the absence of resentment under unprovoked injustice, and on the other to His forgiving love, which takes account of every excusing circumstance, both supremely exemplified in the word from the Cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Thus, while, as we shall see presently, the new order and revelation demanded new words for their expression, terms that defined the best outcome of pagan morality were brought into the service of Christ, and in that service charged with a higher meaning and message. It was like the reception of individuals into the Church. Some natures which refused to abandon old ideals were unable to enter; others came with hearts prepared for the higher life; others presented to the world a new type, and were the firstborn of the new creation.

XIII

LOVE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

A STUDY ON THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON LANGUAGE

WE have endeavoured to show in the preceding 'studies' that Christian writers, in making use of the Greek language, the noblest and most subtle instrument of human speech ever invented, repudiated, not without deliberate purpose, certain terms which involved, or might seem to involve, the acceptance of unworthy Pagan ideals and aims ; and at the same time appropriated to Christian use other terms which conveyed the expression of that which was best and purest in pre-Christian thought.

But more than this was needed. A further step had to be taken in the literature of the gospel. Christianity had literally revealed a new life, and required a fresh vocabulary to express the new conditions. Words, therefore, came into use which were, in some cases, absolutely new inventions, in others so charged with fresh meaning as to be equivalent to new words.

Of these words ἀγάπη (love or charity) is the pre-eminent example. Ἀγάπη (*agapé*), which expresses the highest Christian grace, the bond of the Christian society, the fulfilment of the new law which Christ bequeathed, and which expresses the essence of the divine nature (1 St. John iv. 8), is not classical in the sense of being found in the extant writings of Greek authors. It is, however, used by the LXX. translators, and may possibly have been a vernacular word long before it took its place in literature.

The use of ἀγάπη in the LXX., however, differs widely from its use in the New Testament. In the LXX. ἀγάπη (love) is used in a sense identical with ἔρως (love in the sense of passion), a word absolutely excluded from the New Testament, and employed in two passages only of the LXX. Version of the Old Testament—Proverbs vii. 18, and xxx. 16, in the latter of which there is a clear mistranslation, ἔρως γυναικός (love of a woman), where Aquila and Symmachus render more correctly: ἐποχὴν μήτρας, *Aq.*; συνοχὴν μήτρας, *Sym.* In the sense of ἔρως, or the passion of love, ἀγάπη occurs in 2 Samuel xiii. 15; Jeremiah ii. 2, and frequently in the Song of Songs; in Ecclesiastes ix. 1 and 6 the sense is neutral.

So far, then, as its antecedents were concerned ἀγάπη could not present an unblemished title for admission into the language of Christians. But if

choice lay between ἀγάπη and ἔρως, there could be no question as to the decision. For it must be remembered that the Song of Songs is capable of, and was very generally interpreted in, a spiritualized sense; while ἔρως, though idealized by Plato into a very high conception, was so steeped with the worst associations of Pagan life as to render it ill adapted to convey the sublime message of divine love.

It is true that this scrupulous exclusion of ἔρως (passionate love), did not last, and we shall presently see (*infra*, pp. 147, 148) that the admission of the word is an early example of a process of deterioration in Christian nomenclature.

On the other hand, ἀγάπη (love or charity), with its literary freshness, its immunity from evil, its suggestion of pure and self-sacrificing affection, rendered it an apt instrument to deliver the supreme teaching of the gospel.

The word itself indeed, as we have shown, is not classical, but the thought conveyed by it had entered into the purest presentments of Greek life, and is summed up in one of the most beautiful and touching lines in Greek tragedy: οὐτοι συνέχθειν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν (I was not born to join in hatred, but in love, *Ant.* 523).

The use of ἀγάπη (love) in the New Testament is full of the deepest interest. It occurs twice only in the Synoptic Gospels, but in Luke xi. 42 it is

qualified by τοῦ Θεοῦ, therefore once only in the sense of "brotherly love" ; and then on the lips of Christ when He prophesies the coldness of love in the latter days, ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν, "The love of the majority shall grow cold" (Matt. xxiv. 12).

In the Fourth Gospel ἀγάπη is used several times, especially in chapter xv. In the Epistles of St. John it is found still more frequently ; and in the other writings of the New Testament, with the exception of the Epistle General of St. James, few important words occur so often as ἀγάπη.

The conclusion from these facts seems to be that in the earlier presentation of the gospel which the Synoptists have given, the immense significance of ἀγάπη as an element in the Christian life was not fully understood or realized. But as experience of the renewed life, and the continuous prompting of the Holy Spirit, taught the disciples of Christ how deeply and essentially ἀγάπη (love) entered into their life, and that this had assuredly been the purpose of the Lord Jesus, the word and thought of love take their rightful and pre-eminent position in the literature and system of Christianity, so that Christianity itself is summed up in ἀγάπη. In this view our Lord's words (Matt. xxiv. 12) cited above are strikingly prophetic. When the words were spoken, the divine Society of which ἀγάπη was to be the watchword and guiding principle had not

been founded. But our Lord's prediction carries us forward to a time when the Church shall have taken root and flourished, and gathered to itself many adherents, and beyond that to the time when, from some cause known to Christ alone, the majority of Christians shall have cooled in their enthusiasm and their love, which was so essentially a part of the Christian life, that when love grew cold faith died.

This single utterance of Christ prepares us for the place which *ἀγάπη* (love) takes in the Christian life. It is Christ's own word. And henceforth the disciples of Christ become *ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοί*, beloved of God (Rom. i. 7), and of the apostles (1 Cor. x. 14 and *passim*), and of one another (1 Thess. iii. 12 ; 1 John iii. 11). No one has seen the depth and significance of *ἀγάπη* more clearly or instructively than St. Paul. And in two passages especially of profound teaching (Rom. v. 5-8 ; 1 Cor. xiii.) the meaning, both in its divine and human aspect, is impressed for ever on the conscience of mankind. As time went on the power of "love" grew ; and in the latest apostolic message St. John, "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (*ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, John xxi. 7) handed down to the Church the Master's legacy of love (John xv. 12), and taught by the highest sanction the absolute necessity of this gift for the spiritual life : "He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love" (*ἀγάπη*, 1 John iv. 8).

The high and sacred position of ἀγάπη in Christian nomenclature is sustained by its use in the writings of the subapostolic and succeeding epochs. St. Ignatius speaks of ἀγάπη as "the blood of Jesus Christ" (ἐν ἀγάπῃ ὃ ἐστὶν αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), as faith is "the flesh of the Lord" (*Trall.* c. viii.). It is "the way that leads up to God" (ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς Θεόν, *Id. Eph.* ix.). The same father describes the Church of Rome as "having the presidency of love" (προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, *Rom. inscrip.*). Chrysostom speaks of ἀγάπη as "the beginning and the end of all excellence" (ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης), and as "the impress (χαρακτήρ) of the servants of God, the mark of the apostles." With Theophylact ἀγάπη is "the head and spring of the upright life" (τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βίου).

It is, however, to be observed that some of the early Christian writers did not scruple to use ἔρως (*erōs*), or "passionate love," in place of the apostolic ἀγάπη. Theodoret, for instance, says: "He who hath received the divine love (ὁ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν θεῖον δεξάμενος) despises all earthly things." And St. Ignatius (*Rom.* c. vii.) uses the remarkable expression, ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται, "my love hath been crucified." And although the words have been variously rendered—Origen, for example, interpreting ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρως of Christ ; while

others give the meaning of earthly lust or desire—we note the introduction of the word *ἔρως* into the Christian vocabulary as a mark of decline, and a departure from the apostolic purity of expression.

But the sacred character of *ἀγάπη* has been impaired in other ways besides this admission of *ἔρως* as a synonym.

It was perhaps hardly to be expected that the New Testament standard of meaning could be sustained. But it is a remarkable instance of perverted meaning that through transference to another tongue the sublime conception of Christian love as described by St. Paul should have become narrowed to a signification which that description excludes. Yet so it is. The English "charity," directly representing *caritas*, the Latin equivalent of *ἀγάπη*, has all but lost the attributes of its Greek parentage, and is now used to signify almsgiving, which St. Paul shows to be distinct from *ἀγάπη* (1 Cor. xiii. 3), or else fairness and forbearance in judgment, which corresponds to a part, but a part only, of St. Paul's definition.

It is easy to trace the steps by which "charity" settled into the meaning of "almsgiving," that being, of course, the most obvious and the most recognizable expression of brotherly love. But the loss to the language of Christianity is serious. The result is that Christianity is left without any

term to express its highest ideal. When the Revisers sought a rendering for *ἀγάπη*, they were left to choose between "love" and "charity." The former had the objection of a wide and, in many respects, an unsuitable connotation; the latter possessed the defect of having a divergent meaning imposed by popular use.

The only remedy for the Christian student is either to read and think in the language of the Greek Testament, or to grasp in its fulness the original conception of *ἀγάπη*, and to think or read that into its English equivalent.

It is a striking fact in the history of language and of religious thought that that which happened to *ἀγάπη*, the representative word of Christianity, happened in some measure also to *δικαιοσύνη* (righteousness), the representative word of Judaism. Both words came in the end to denote "almsgiving." As "almsgiving" was the obvious outcome of brotherly love, so it came to be regarded with the Jew as the highest act of righteousness. Familiar evidence of this will be found in the various reading Matthew vi. 1, where, in place of the true reading, *δικαιοσύνην* is found, in the less authoritative MSS., *ἐλεημοσύνην* (almsgiving), a word inserted in all probability as a marginal gloss to explain *δικαιοσύνην*. Jerome has "Justitiam hoc est eleemosynam." Compare also the parallelism in Psalm cxii. 9: "He hath

dispersed, he hath given to the needy; his righteousness endureth for ever." And in Daniel iv. 27: "Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor."

But although, in comparison with *ἀγάπη* (love), *δικαιοσύνη*, or "righteousness," holds a secondary place in the New Testament as a note of the Christian life, and although it is not, like *ἀγάπη*, a creation of Christianity, it is a word of momentous importance. Apart from revelation its roots went deep into the religious consciousness of mankind, and it introduced both into Judaism and Christianity the purest and most inspiring of moral ideas. The word *δικαιοσύνη* does not occur in the Greek poets, but with Homer justice (*δίκη*) is "the everlasting attribute of Zeus." In Pindar the righteous are the special care of the gods (*Nem.* x. 54); and justice is beautifully described as "sister of peace,"¹ and both are "golden children of wise Themis" (*Ol.*, xiii. 7). "The unwritten laws of divine justice are more ancient than the law of living princes, and transcend them," says Antigone (*Soph. Antig.* 454); and Euripides speaks of justice as "stronger than injustice" (*Ion.*, 1117). The conception rises to a still higher level in the Platonic and Aristotelian systems. The beautiful story of Er, the son of

¹ Comp. Righteousness and peace have kissed one another, Ps. lxxxv. 10.

Armenius, with which the *Republic* closes, sets forth better than by formal definition the Platonic view of "righteousness" in terms not unworthy to be compared with the description of Judgment in Matthew xxv. With Aristotle justice is "the starting-point of right action and of right desire"; it is "the sum of all other excellencies"; it is "more beautiful than the morning or evening star." It differs from perfect virtue only in a way which makes it superior to virtue; for it is the *use* of virtue. A man cannot be righteous to himself alone. It is goodness that imparts itself (*κοινωνική ἀρετή*, *Pol.*, iii., xiii. 3). With such a history and such an alliance of noble and divine thoughts the Hellenic *δικαιοσύνη* had gifts to impart to Judaism as well as gifts to receive. The knowledge of all that *δικαιοσύνη* meant and connoted would incline the Hellenic proselyte to view with favour a religion which was based upon righteousness. And soon he would learn that, as an attribute of Jehovah, "righteousness" had risen to higher levels than ever in Greek philosophy.

But as with *ἀγάπη*, usage lowered the conception of righteousness, and in the decline of Judaism righteousness came to signify little more than an exact performance of legal requirements, which was often destructive of righteousness in its higher and truer sense.

It was the office of Christianity, then, to define

and exemplify *δικαιοσύνη*, the true righteousness. The righteousness of the New Testament goes back to the righteousness of the Old Testament as its type, but enlarges its scope with the deeper and wider revelation in Christ.

Out of the vast subject here suggested three points may be selected to illustrate the developed idea of righteousness through Christianity.

1. The gradual revelation of a divine righteousness in the gospel accounts for the power of the gospel and for its effectiveness for salvation. The gospel is a force working for salvation *because* righteousness is revealed in it. This great truth is expressed in Romans i. 17: *δικαιοσύνη γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, καθὼς γέγραπται, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται* (For therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith: as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith). Here righteousness is regarded as inherent in God and imparted to man. Its condition and starting-point is faith, and in the process of revelation faith grows and deepens (*ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν*). This divine righteousness, then, is revealed or manifested in the life of a human soul, and in the movements of the world and of society. It is for a Christian the key to history, and the explanation of the deepest mystery of our faith, the atonement through Jesus Christ: *ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι,*

εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ (Whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by His blood to show forth His righteousness, Rom. iii. 25).

2. The important phrase (Rom. iii. 26), *εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ* (That he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus), emphasizes and explains *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* (a righteousness of God). It teaches that the righteousness of God is the cause of man's righteousness. To use logical expressions, it is the formal, efficient and final cause of man's righteousness. For divine and human righteousness are one and the same thing, and human righteousness springs from, and is always aiming at, divine righteousness. This is a purely Christian truth, and rests upon the mystery of the Incarnation. The expression itself, *εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα*, does not mean "in order that he should be just and *yet* the justifier"—there is no concessive force in the participle—but "that he should be just and the justifier," righteous and giver of righteousness. As to *δικαιοῦν*, we take it in its first and literal meaning "to make righteous," rather than in its forensic meaning "to acquit." But, indeed, closely examined, the two meanings coincide. And the difficulty disappears if we remember that all human righteousness is imperfect, and that divine

forgiveness is accorded to incipient, and therefore an imperfect, righteousness; and, secondly, that acquittal of a prisoner by a human judge implies, and is intended to convey, the innocence of the accused person. Acquittal, therefore, by a divine Judge not only implies, but proves righteousness to exist, the result of forgiveness through the creative power of a merciful God.

3. A third accession of meaning which righteousness has received through the Christian revelation is concerned with the meaning and results of it as an attribute of God in Christ Jesus. As such righteousness is the source and ground of forgiveness of sins. This truth is expressed in 1 John i. 9: *ἐὰν ὁμολογῶμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, πιστός ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιος ἵνα ἀφῇ ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ καθάρισή ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας*: "If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." The use of the particle *ἵνα* (in order that) with adjectives and nouns is characteristic of St. John's style; comp. John i. 27, *ἄξιός ἵνα κ.τ.λ.*: 1 John iii. 11, *ἡ ἀγγελία . . . ἵνα κ.τ.λ.*: 1 John iv. 21, *τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔχομεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα κ.τ.λ.* In these and other passages *ἵνα* expresses both purpose or aim, and result. For in the Hebrew thought where divine action is concerned, aim and result are identified. The teaching, then, of the words cited above is that the faithfulness (*πίστις*) and

righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*) of God have for aim and result remission of sins and cleansing from all unrighteousness on the condition of confession of sins. Here *δικαιοσύνη* combines in an ascending scale the Greek, and Jewish, and Christian use of the word. It contains the original Greek sense of due apportionment, the Hebrew sense of the divine character of righteousness tending to mercy and forgiveness, and the extended Christian sense of forgiveness through Jesus Christ, who is essentially *δίκαιος*, the "Righteous One," 1 John ii. 1 : *παράκλητον ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δίκαιον* (We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous), where, as Bishop Westcott says, "the adjective is not a simple epithet, but marks predicatively ("being as He is righteous") that characteristic of the Lord which gives efficacy to His advocacy of man."

It may be remarked that the rendering of the adjective and noun by "just" and "justice" respectively in place of "righteous" and "righteousness" is, perhaps, inevitable. But the result is a loss to the English reader, and there is always a danger lest the use of the alternative rendering should unconsciously influence the mind by suggesting human analogies which certainly ought not to be pressed.

But verbal dangers of this kind meet the theological student at every turn ; and an examination

into the history of Christian controversy will show the risk of basing arguments on translated words, or on Greek words which are not found in those passages of the Greek Testament in which the dispute centres.

XIV

TRUTH IN JESUS: THE REVELATION OF CHRIST AND THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST

A STUDY IN THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

Ἑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν· εἶπε αὐτὸν ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδιδάχθητε, καθὼς ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.—Eph. iv. 20, 21.

IN arguing against a relapse into pagan immorality, St. Paul definitely reminds his readers of what they had been taught in the synagogues of Asia, and more especially, perhaps, in the lecture-room of Tyrannus (Acts xix. 9). And in particular he is showing that the teaching is inconsistent with the former profligacy, which as Christians they have abandoned. The special and central phrase in this passage, "truth in Jesus," is used as a kind of touchstone to serve as test and standard in conduct and belief. And although the expression is found here only in the New Testament, it may well be understood as underlying the whole argument of the Epistle, and indeed may be thought to summarize and recall the entire range of the apostle's teaching in Asia.

There is a brevity and lack of explanation about the phrase which seem to suggest its use as a formula familiar to his disciples.

In the immediately preceding context (*vv.* 18 and 19) the apostle notes the cause and source of the sensual indulgence (*ἀσέλγεια*) and impurity (*ἀκαθαρσία*) into which the pagan life had sunk. He traces the awful corruption to an intellectual rather than to a moral source. "The Gentiles," he says, "are walking in the vanity of their mind, having been darkened in their intellect (*διανοία*), alienated from the life of God, because of the ignorance that is in them (*διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς*), because of the hardening process (*πώρωσιν*) going on in their hearts, who being past feeling gave themselves up to sensuality with a view to (*εἰς*) working all uncleanness with greediness." Then, turning to his converts, the apostle says emphatically, "But you"—no longer pagan—did not so learn the Christ, i.e. learn what the Christ is in nature, office, life and revelation, "if indeed ye heard Him and were taught in Him"—the Christ being the central point (*ἐν αὐτῷ*) of instruction—"even as truth is in Jesus."

The words which follow sum up briefly the substance of the instruction in Christ referred to: "that ye put off once for all (*ἀποθέσθαι*), according to the former manner of life, the old man, who is being gradually destroyed in the way of

the lusts of deceit, but be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on once for all (*ἐνδύσασθαι*) the new man, who was created according to God in righteousness and holiness of the truth."

The passage as a whole may be regarded as St. Paul's summary of Christian education on the basis of "truth as it is in Jesus"; and the most noticeable point in this summary is the stress laid by the Apostle on the perfecting and sanctification of the intellect. The ultimate cause of corruption lay in the vanity of mind, the darkness of the intellect and inherent ignorance, and the alienation from the life of God. We have the same teaching in Romans i. 21-23, where the expressions are almost verbally identical. There was indeed a recognition of God (*γνόντες τὸν Θεόν*) but they were stultified in their reasonings (*ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν*), and their senseless or unintelligent heart was darkened (*ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία*). In 2 Corinthians iv. 4, the god of this world is described as blinding the thoughts of the unbelieving (*ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων*). In chap. v. 15 of this Epistle the expression *ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖν* implies a kind of scientific precision in the Christian life.

The conception of intellectual blindness helps us to understand the words which we are chiefly considering. If intellectual aberration and

estrangement from the life of God has been the cause of corruption and consequent misery, the return to a higher life must be through an apprehension of absolute truth, i.e. as truth exemplified in the Person of Jesus, and a resumption of the image of God obscured or lost by sin.

The expression *μαθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν*, "to learn the Christ" or Messiah, has no exact parallel in the New Testament; it is, however, sufficiently illustrated by the words of Euripides cited by Cremer, *ὄψ' ἐμάθεθ' ἡμᾶς ὅτε δ' ἐχρῆν οὐκ ᾔδετε* (Eur. *Bacch.*, 1345). And light may be thrown upon it by such expressions as *τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν* (to know him, Phil. iii. 10), *κηρύσσειν τὸν Χριστόν* (to preach Christ), and the proverbial phrase *γινῶθι σεαυτόν* (know thyself). It is further explained and expounded by the words which follow: *ἠκούσατε* (heard him) . . . *ἐδιδάχθητε ἐν αὐτῷ* (were taught in him)—*ἠκούσατε* referring to the first preaching of the gospel and the response to it;¹ *ἐδιδάχθητε* to the subsequent catechetical instruction (comp. Luke i. 4).

This instruction we know St. Paul to have carried on in Ephesus first in the synagogue and afterwards for three years in the lecture-room of Tyrannus (Acts xix. 9). It must be remembered

¹ *ἀκούειν* is not merely to hear, but to hear and understand. For instance, when Jesus says *ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπειροντος* (Matt. xiii. 18) the meaning is "learn or apprehend the interpretation of the parable."

that in doing this St. Paul was following a line of teaching with which his Jewish hearers were familiar; for the character and mission of the Messiah was a frequent subject both of speculation and of preaching in the Rabbinic schools. In this sense both Jew and proselyte among St. Paul's converts had already "learnt Christ." In preaching Christ, then, St. Paul brought fresh light to an old subject. With him Messianic teaching had ceased to be theoretical or speculative. His teaching consisted in proving that "Jesus is the Christ" (Acts xvii. 3, xviii. 5; comp. v. 49, xviii. 28). And consequently henceforth to know Jesus is to know the Christ. In other words, the only interpretation of the Messiah is to be found in Jesus. St. Paul says in effect to his disciples: "If you can only grasp truth as exhibited, illustrated and taught by the life, acts and words of Jesus, you will know the truth about the expected Messiah of the Jews."

The word *καθώς*, "even as," "in accordance with," denotes a rule or principle of teaching and interpretation: "truth in Jesus,"¹ then, is the rule and principle of all Christian education.

¹ The expression "in Jesus" finds a parallel in Acts iv. 2, where the apostles are said to have proclaimed or preached the Resurrection in Jesus, i.e. proved the fact and possibility of resurrection by adducing the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus. So here "truth in Jesus" is truth as set forth in His person and doctrine.

We may here note that the rendering of the A.V., *the truth*, as if it meant the truth of the gospel, both narrows and obscures the meaning of this profound and important phrase. *Ἀλήθεια*, used without the definite article, signifies truth in its abstract and general sense, and includes every aspect of truth, both in regard to intellectual and spiritual verities and to righteousness of life and conduct. On the one hand "truth in Jesus" is a revelation of the nature and pre-existence of the Christ; of the relation of the finite to the infinite in Him, that is, of the secret of humanity in relation to the Divine; and, on the other hand, it is the example of Jesus which is the criterion of Christian morality and teaching.

The expression "alienated from the life of God" is of great importance in the interpretation of the whole passage, and especially in regard to the phrase we are considering. The indwelling life of God is, as the Apostle teaches us, the secret of all morality and holiness. But righteousness and holiness belong to and are part of that truth which teaches the true relation of God to man (*κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας*, created in righteousness and holiness of truth, Eph. iv. 24). If, then, ignorance and alienation from the life of God are the sources of corruption, instruction in Christ on the lines of truth as manifested in Jesus, and a recognition of the indwelling Christ, are the correction and remedy for pagan error.

Thus regarded, "truth in Jesus," proved to be the Christ, has an infinite range. It touches every part of human life and intelligence, and purifies and illuminates all that it touches. It is the underlying and connecting thought of the whole of this Epistle to the Ephesians.

1. First "truth in Jesus" is a *revelation*. It is a revelation of the nature and existence of Christ, and of the true relation between the finite and infinite. The profound statement in chap. i. 4 of this Epistle lies at the root of all Christian morality and teaching: "Even as He chose (ἐξελέξατο) us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before Him in love: having preordained (προορίσας) us unto adoption as sons through Christ unto Himself." This mystic union between God and man, then, is a truth known primarily by revelation; but it is a truth to which there is a response in the human consciousness. Prof. Caird has shown¹ that not only does the human sense of limitation prove the existence of the divine element within us, but that it is to the conscious falling short of an infinite standard that the pain of ignorance and error is due. It is the sense of

"A presence that disturbs us with the joy
Of elevated thoughts" (Wordsworth).

And when Shakespeare speaks of man as "infinite

¹ *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, i. 181.

in faculties, and in apprehension like a god," he expresses the same consciousness of the divine indwelling, and of the truth revealed in Jesus.

2. *Truth as perfection or completeness of humanity.* This aspect of the "truth in Jesus" follows, as a necessary consequence, the revelation of the true nature of man. Perfection of humanity is found in Jesus Christ alone. He alone is perfect man. But the believer is described as a divine creation (ποίημα, chap. ii. 10), fashioned in Christ Jesus, and therefore faultlessly perfect in intention and aim. True human education is continually tending towards this completeness: εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (unto a full grown man, unto the measure of the fulness of Christ, iv. 13). As Christ is the perfect revelation of the Father, and the perfect pattern of life, as He is "He that is true" (Rev. iii. 14, ἀληθινός signifies more than ἀλήθης), so in Him the believer can be "perfect even as the Father in heaven is perfect." And at every step and stage in this progress to perfection the apostolic formula of "truth in Jesus" is the test and standard of advance.

No act of Jesus Christ as Son of Man was self-centred. Each had reference to the whole of humanity, and was therefore, in the Aristotelian sense, not only good and wise, but in a profound sense true, as expressive of human nature in its

perfect operation.¹ Here then also "truth in Jesus" is the test and model of all true and beautiful action. When Jesus calls a simple act of devotion *καλόν*,² He recognizes in it that which is not individual but catholic. It was good and true to that higher spiritual nature of man which makes the whole world kin; therefore, "Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her" (Mark xiv. 9).

3. *Truth as harmony and right adjustment of parts.* But if "truth in Jesus" signifies exact conformity with the highest conception of human nature as revealed in Christ Jesus, it also implies harmony and co-operation in the working of the several parts of our nature as a whole—spirit, will, intellect, all energies of mind and body—working together in perfect harmony and in due relation to one another.

Transferred to the mystical body of Christ, of which all believers are members, the thought of perfect harmony and co-operation of the members for a common end is used to explain and enforce the need of unity in the Christian Church. Disunion is another word for hostility, and union is another word for peace. But the effect of the

¹ See Muirhead, *Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics*, p. 206.

² *καλὸν ἔργον ἐργάσατο* (she hath wrought a good work), Mark xiv. 6.

Incarnation was essentially to make peace. In a profound sense, Christ is our peace. Hostility or disunion was slain through His Cross (ii. 16) on which Jew and Gentile were made one in Christ. Then variety of function is no more a violation of Christian unity than variety of function in the members of the body impairs its unity. On the contrary, such variety is essential to the highest conception of unity, as St. Paul explains in *vv.* 15 and 16 of chap. iv. Where the close connexion between truth and harmony of co-operation is brought out in the phrase ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, that is not only "speaking the truth" (although that is included), but doing the truth, bringing to pass that completeness of harmony and adjustment in operation which is essential to every perfect organization and to all spiritual and physical healthfulness.

4. *Truth as correspondence of belief with reality.* Closely linked with oneness, of truth of co-operation, is oneness or truth in belief, exact correspondence between that which exists and that which is thought to exist. Here the relation between truth and faith is close. Truth holds what faith sees. St. Paul shows that the object and result of diversity in ministry is the achievement of unity of faith, and full knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of the Son of God. The full-grown and perfect man, who has reached the measure of the stature of the fulness of

Christ (iv. 13), is no longer like a child swayed and carried about with every wind of doctrine (ii. 14). Here "truth in Jesus" is truth in the faithful witness (Rev. iii. 14), who testifies that which He has seen with the Father (John viii. 38).

5. *Truth as correspondence of word with fact*, truth in statement. This is the truth which sweeps away those discrepancies between fact and speech which even the heathen poet laments :

φεῦ· φεῦ· τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν
φωνήν ἔν' ἦσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λόγοι.

(Eur. *Hip.*, fr. ix. 2. 2.)

"Alas, that things done have not a voice for men in order that fine words might have counted for nothing."

As in the last section "truth in Jesus" signifies the truth of the testimony as to things invisible and eternal, "seen with the Father," so here "truth in Jesus" is truth resting on the testimony as to earthly things of Him who is Himself the truth, who is "the faithful witness," possessing absolute knowledge and absolute veracity, never swerving one hair's breadth from that "golden and narrow line" of truth which, as Ruskin taught, "the very powers and virtues which lean upon it bend" (*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, chap. ii.). St. Paul shows that righteousness and holiness (iv. 24), which belong to the truth, necessarily

repudiate falsehood, which is inconsistent both with the character of God and with the oneness of the members of Christ.

6. *Truth in achievement of aim.* Another sense of truth is correspondence between achievement and aim, and between the purpose for which an instrument is intended and the use made of that instrument. In Christ Jesus there was perfect achievement of purpose, and in all His acts and in the working of all His powers there was precise adaptation to the end designed. It is this depth of meaning which we may read into the last mysterious word of the Christ—*τετέλεσται* (it is finished). The work hath been accomplished at the predestined moment of time (*εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν*, chap. i. 10), and by the means purposed before the foundation of the world (*πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, chap. i. 4). Therefore it is inferred that the sanctified members of the mystical body of Christ will here also recognize "truth in Jesus," and as exact and scrupulous imitators of Him will use and regulate all their faculties of mind and will and passion in accordance with their natural and intended purpose and not in the service of sin and profligacy (compare Rom. vi. 13), or of untruth.

7. *Truth in education and in controversy.* St. Paul has shown in this Epistle to the Ephesians how penetrating is this principle of truth in Jesus.

It was the criterion of the apostles' teaching in the School of Tyrannus and elsewhere. And it is the foundation on which must rest all Christian teaching on history, art, the nature of man, religion and ethics. It is the principle which should rule all controversy, and especially religious controversy. Truth in Jesus is, as we have seen, partly a revelation, partly an example. But it is a revelation within limits (Matt. xxiv. 36). All controversy, therefore, should pause on the threshold of the unrevealed, and be content to wait. And if we remember that the chief root of controversial bitterness is dogmatism on the unknown and mysterious, it follows that "truth in Jesus," regarded as a limitation of human knowledge, ought to be a message of peace.

XV

BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD

(I CORINTHIANS XV. 29.)

THE object of this note is to point out that “baptism for the dead” in a literal sense was not in itself an improbable custom nor even in the circumstances of those days wholly unjustifiable; that St. Paul’s words are best explained by the existence of such a custom; and that a right apprehension of the custom in question will account for its entire disappearance from the Church and even from the memory of succeeding generations, and consequently for the difficulty of interpretation which ensued.

Without reviewing at length the various explanations of the passage we venture to affirm generally that none of those interpretations which reject the literal meaning of “baptizing for the dead” would have been given unless the existence of such a custom had been deemed inconceivable, or at least open to very grave objection. Canon T. Evans, for instance, who in a very able note argues against the more obvious interpretation of the words,

alludes to the custom as "a monstrous superstition," and Prof. Milligan speaks of it as "grotesque, superstitious and absurd" (*The Resurrection of the Dead*, p. 88).

The explanations based on such preconceived opinions are for the most part forced and alien to the directness and simplicity of the language in which St. Paul expresses his arguments in the rest of the chapter. One interpretation, however, reached by a change in punctuation possesses some plausibility. By placing a note of interrogation after "baptized," as well as after "dead," it is possible to render the words: "What shall they do which are baptized? Is it for their dead (bodies) that they are baptized? If the dead are not raised at all, why then are they baptized for them?" In other words, baptism is in itself a strong argument for the Resurrection; for the results of it extend beyond the present life.

Canon T. Evans (*Speaker's Commentary, ad loc.* and in an additional note) accepts the rendering "for the dead" (A.V. and R.V.) as one which, "rightly understood, is good and may well be retained." But he proceeds to give an interpretation to the preposition "for" (*ὑπέρ*) and to "the dead" (*τῶν νεκρῶν*) which is certainly not obvious and on the surface. We need hardly say that an accomplished scholar like Canon Evans is right in affirming that the preposition *ὑπέρ* signifies not

only "in behalf of," but also "on account of, with an interest in, concerning, with a view to," etc. Compare among other instances cited by Blass (*Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 135, Eng. Trans.) 2 Corinthians viii. 23, εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου ("as concerning"): xii. 8, ὑπὲρ τούτου παρεκάλεσα: 2 Corinthians i. 6, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως, "to," "with a view to." What we have to say is that any of these renderings might be accepted in this passage, and that no one of them is incompatible with a very literal interpretation of it.

But where we venture to differ from Canon Evans is not in the extended use of the preposition but in the extension of meaning which he gives to the words "the dead" (τῶν νεκρῶν). "Both context and circumstance," he says, "together proclaim that the ulterior view of a neophyte's mind bending over the long roll or class of the dead is their *resurrection*." So that with Theophylact and other Greek Fathers he expounds the phrase "for the dead" as "with an interest in the resurrection of the dead," or even "in expectation of the resurrection." Theophylact indeed paraphrases the words thus: τί δὲ ὅλως καὶ βαπτίζονται ἄνθρωποι ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ἀναστάσεως εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται. (Why then are men baptized at all for resurrection, that is with an expectation of resurrection, if the dead are not raised?) In view of such a paraphrase we are tempted to

ask—If this was indeed the meaning of the apostle, why did he not use those words or words as clear and unambiguous? If the reading in the text had been “with a view to the resurrection” (*ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναστάσεως*) there would have been no difficulty or controversy in relation to this much disputed phrase. But what we doubt is that Theophylact’s paraphrase is a true representation of St. Paul’s words.

Indeed, if St. Paul’s argument at this point were drawn from Christian baptism only, the words, “for the dead,” or even, “for the resurrection,” would have been superfluous to sustain it. “Why then are men baptized if the dead rise not?” would be a sufficient argument as it stands, for of course baptism has a relation to a future life and implies a resurrection. But St. Paul had a purpose in adding “for the dead.” And the natural inference is that there is an allusion to a special usage in baptism.

What that usage was may be conjectured from the circumstances of the Corinthian Church at the time. It was of course an infant Church consisting entirely of recent converts from Judaism and the various pagan cults. As yet there was no such thing as hereditary Christianity. To become a Christian was to break from the traditions of family and race. And to accept Christian privileges, union with Christ, a partaking of the divine nature

and a certain hope of an immortal life was to accept privileges from which many of those who were nearest and dearest to them had been debarred by death. But the new converts had been taught that Christ had died for all men. He had died for the dead and the living alike, for parents or brethren or friends whom they had lost, Jew or pagan though they were.

And as the Christian converts knew that only through union with Christ could their dead, who were living, enter upon the full enjoyment of immortal life a passionate desire would arise that all who with them had "waited for the consolation of Israel" or who in paganism had been "seekers after God" should be brought into that union, and share with them the joy of the resurrection in Christ. They had been led to believe that the Lord would come "quickly"—the moment of the *parousia* was close at hand, there seemed therefore to be an immediate prospect of rejoining the friends whom they had recently lost. And it was an agonizing thought that anything should separate them from the loved companionship. How then, the new converts might reason, could their departed friends, so like-minded with themselves, so prepared to receive Christ if that had been possible, how could they be brought into covenant with Him? Only by baptism as far as they knew. Could they not then be sponsors for these dead

friends living, as they knew they were, by the power of the resurrection? Could they not answer for their faith as they answered for their unconscious babes in baptism? It was only one step further to ask—Could they not be baptized for them? Such we may imagine to ourselves was the train of thought which led on to “baptism for the dead.” We must remember that the revelation of immortality, or incorruptibility (*ἀφθαρσία*), through the gospel, the certainty that departed friends were living, must have had an overwhelming effect on the first converts which it is difficult for us fully to realize. In the light of that revealed and certified truth all kinds of possibilities would present themselves. No limits could be set to the far-reaching power of this resurrection. And if the means of realizing ardent hopes was erroneous, it was at least human and pathetic; and, however questionable in itself, the usage implied belief in the future life, in the resurrection of the dead, in the efficacy of the resurrection of Christ and in the value of baptism.

Nor must it be forgotten that the thought of substitution lies at the root of Christian doctrine, and that therefore there would be no objection *in limine* for a Christian believer to the teaching that a vicarious act of love and piety might benefit those on whose behalf it was wrought.

It is natural to suppose that thoughts and uses would spring into existence under the first impulse

of the proved fact of the resurrection, which could not be permanently sanctioned by the Church, and would pass away with a changed condition of things, and in the face of a more settled doctrine. Among these, besides "baptism for the dead," may be reckoned, "speaking with tongues" and exorcism, and that ceremonial unction by presbyters described in St. James v. 14.

When we come to consider St. Paul's relation to this usage, supposing it to exist, it may be observed that the change from the third person in v. 29 to the first person in v. 30 implies that the apostle does not associate himself with the belief, which was possibly local and confined to a small group of Christians in Corinth. The form of the expression *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* (they which are baptized for the dead) appears to indicate a party distinguished from the general body of the Church. It is true that St. Paul bases one part of his argument on the usage. The very intensity of belief in the resurrection which the custom implied would make an appeal to it more telling. The belief itself was vital though the custom which grew out of it may have been inexpedient or even indefensible. But may not this have been a case where, if excision was needed, it was expedient to carry it out tenderly and without precipitation? May it not have been a point on which the Apostle hesitated to speak authoritatively at once?

Here indeed it may be noted that even at this day there is far from being agreement in Christendom as to the relations between the living and the departed who are in Paradise.

In any case the custom, limited as we conceive it to be, would vanish with the condition of things which made it possible. It would have no place in the generation which followed. In the second century indeed we have traces of vicarious baptism practised by certain heretical sects, a custom possibly founded on these words of St. Paul, but one which is according to our theory to be entirely dissociated from the primitive usage, the existence of which we infer from this passage.

We may add that it was in all probability the use of vicarious baptism by the Marcionites that induced the Greek Fathers to give an interpretation to this celebrated passage, which would lend no support to a custom entirely discredited by the Church.

But a further objection has been made. It has been said—How could an argument founded on “baptism for the dead” be efficacious as against persons who denied the resurrection? To this it may be answered that with absolute unbelievers no argument derived from baptism would have weight; but the whole of the Apostle’s reasoning in this chapter is directed rather to confirm and warn the wavering than to refute the unbelieving.

We ought not perhaps to conclude these remarks without referring to Prof. Milligan's interpretation of the passage. According to this scholar "the dead" are the Christian dead who are at rest but still awaiting the completed victory of Christ. Every one therefore who is baptized and suffers for Christ, helping as he does to fill up the number of the elect, hastens the coming of Christ and the consummation of the bliss of His saints, and in this sense is baptized for the benefit or advantage of the dead in Christ. St. Paul's thought here is, he says, substantially the same as that which he expresses when writing to the Colossians—"Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake which is the Christ" (Col. i. 24).

Expressed very briefly our objections to this exposition are—(1) that Prof. Milligan imposes on οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι (those which are baptized) a wider meaning than it can bear in this passage when he includes in it the thought of the trials and sufferings then inseparable from the Christian profession. (2) Although no doubt each Christian baptism does or may contribute to the completion of the number of the elect, still it cannot be regarded as a prominent thought or one usually present to the minds of the candidates for baptism as a motive. (3) The thought does not add to the force of St.

Paul's argument, which would have been equally strong without the addition of "for the dead."

(4) If the thought of suffering be brought into this clause the argument is substantially identical with that which follows.

In conclusion we do not find any of the interpretations offered for the solution of this passage entirely convincing or satisfactory. There are none which do not more or less convey the impression of "explaining away." And on the other hand the existence of a practice to which the most literal and obvious interpretation points is neither so improbable or so indefensible as most commentators have supposed. At any rate the words stand written without any question of authenticity, demanding a solution: *si quid novisti rectius istis | candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum.*

XVI

I CORINTHIANS XV. 29-34 AN ARGUMENT AND AN APPEAL

AT the close of the First Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul finds it necessary to recapitulate his gospel, laying especial stress on the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ (*ἀπέθανεν . . . ἐτάφη . . . ἐγήγερται*, 'died . . . was buried . . . hath been raised,' xv. 3, 4), on the significance of that death (*ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*, 'for our sins,' *v.* 3), and on the correspondence of the death and resurrection of Christ with prophecy (*κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, 'according to the Scriptures,' *vv.* 3, 4). This recapitulation is enriched by several particulars of surpassing interest—the appearance of the risen Christ to Cephas, to the Twelve, (strictly of course to the Eleven,) to the five hundred brethren at once, to James the Lord's brother, and to all the Apostles (*τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν*). This, as distinct from His appearance to the Eleven, may imply a wider meaning of the word "apostle."

The apostle then proceeds to argue from the proved fact of the resurrection of Christ the resur-

rection of the dead generally. It is surprising that the argument should have become necessary. To us it seems inconsistent to believe in the resurrection of Christ and yet to disbelieve in the resurrection of the dead. But through all the ages inconsistency has been a note of unbelief.

St. Paul rests his argument in its first stages on the proved and acknowledged fact of the resurrection of Christ. From that fact to a general resurrection of the dead is a necessary inference. The truth of the one stands or falls with the truth of the other. This is what St. Paul presses in a passage of sublime Christology, which is one of the most precious possessions of the Church (1 Cor. xv. 20-28).

It is, however, in regard to the next step in St. Paul's great argument (*vv.* 29-32) and on the short digression which follows (*vv.* 33, 34) that we desire to offer an explanation.

I. Up to this point, as we have seen, the apostle has been establishing the truth of the resurrection by the testimony of accredited witnesses to external facts. He now proceeds to prove his thesis by a different kind of evidence which does not lie on the surface. Consequently the two statements of fact used in support of it seems to interrupt and break into the argument instead of helping to build it up. Rightly regarded, however, these words are an appeal to the deepest and most con-

vincing source of proof, and the digression which follows is valuable as indicating both the cause of the lapse in faith, and the character of the lapsed.

In verse 29 the much disputed words occur respecting baptism for the dead, which have been discussed in the last chapter. Here it will suffice to remark that, whatever interpretation of the words be accepted, the argument rests on a deduction from the Christian rite of baptism.

The Apostle then proceeds in further proof of the resurrection to refer to his personal experience. He describes a life of hourly danger, of hardship, and self-sacrifice. He does not suggest that this is the best possible life, but he suggests that, with the motive which inspires him, it is the only possible one. Side by side with his own plan of life, and in contrast with it, he places the Epicurean life-formula, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die" (*φάγωμεν καὶ πίνωμεν αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν*, v. 32), as a conceivable alternative.¹

But here it may be asked, How does baptism for the dead, or how does this life of sacrifice, hardship and danger endured for Christ's sake, and in faith of the resurrection, prove the fact of the resurrection? The truth is that in both cases the

¹ With this phrase descriptive of the worldly life of pleasure compare what the unwise rich man says to his soul: "Take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry" (Luke xii. 18).

strength of the argument is suggested and not expressed. It lies in the deep consciousness of the candidate for baptism, or of the Apostle reviewing his life, that he is not mistaken. The Apostle's argument rests on the instinctive conviction, which impels him to believe that he is right and wise in sacrificing everything for Christ, and the truth of the resurrection. And in such matters the argument from instinct affords the strongest possible evidence. It is one from which there is no appeal. Instinctive action is divinely guided action, and is never at fault. Wherever verification is possible it is found that the end suggested by instinct is a right end, often an end necessary for the preservation and development of life, and that the means suggested by instinct for achieving the end are the best adapted for the purpose. It is therefore a reasonable inference that, where verification is not possible, the end suggested by instinctive consciousness is right, and the means true. This is not of course the only passage in which St. Paul appeals to this infallible test of spiritual facts. Compare, for instance, "But unto us God revealed them (i.e. divine mysteries) through the Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God. . . . But we received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things which are freely given to us of

God " (1 Cor. ii. 10-12). And in a passage still more nearly akin to the subject of the resurrection he writes : " Now He that hath wrought us for this very thing (i.e. eternal life) is God, who gave unto us the earnest of the Spirit " (2 Cor. v. 5) ; that is, God gave us an inner witness and premonition that death is not an ending of life, but the passage to a higher life then beginning.

St. Paul then argues for the truth of the resurrection, not only from the fact of Christ's resurrection, which can be attested by many witnesses, but from that inward evidence of the Spirit, which he speaks of in the strictly parallel passage, which we have quoted from the Second Epistle.

St. Paul then advances one step further in his argument. The same instinct, that proves the resurrection, proves that it is the very basis of life, and that the hope of the resurrection is the one thing that makes life worth living ; in consideration of which distress, pain, death, are matters of indifference. If this motive and basis of life be removed let the Epicurean or any other scheme of life be adopted, it matters not. If the dead be not raised, the apostle says in effect, I grant you that that life of sensual enjoyment may be justified in a way. If you have not the Christian motive, I cannot expect you to lead the Christian life.

Here, then, St. Paul makes pause in his argument in order to warn those of his recent converts

who had lapsed into the old Epicurean life, or at least had tried to find the two lives compatible. It is this departure and digression from the train of his argument—or, more strictly, this change from argument to appeal—that gives a certain abruptness to these two verses, which disappears only if the connexion is thoroughly understood.

We trace that connexion in the Epicurean formula, already alluded to, which the apostle uses to express the antithesis to the hard life of the Christian soldier: "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die."

It is hardly necessary to explain that, in using this phrase, St. Paul does not intend to argue that for those who have abandoned the Christian ideal the only alternative is a life of pure self-indulgence. Even Epicurus himself and his school maintained that happiness consisted in a moderate use of pleasure. What St. Paul does is to place in contrast the life in Christ and the life in paganism.

II. With the thought of that contrast the true underlying cause of the denial of the resurrection against which he is contending flashes into the apostle's mind. Hence this digression from his argument is only apparent. The earnest compressed sentences which follow betray the emotion with which the warning is given. It is a direct

appeal to conscience—to that God-given sense already illuminated by Christian teaching and the power of the Incarnation. It is impossible, he tells these wavering disciples, for the high and spiritual thought of the resurrection and the resurrection life to exist in the heated atmosphere of Epicureanism. There must be a complete severance between the old life and the new. It is the Wordsworthian scheme of “high thinking and plain living” deepened, hardened and spiritualized. The Christian ideal must be nurtured in a brighter and purer air ; that “atmosphere of moral and religious influences which surrounds every man’s existence, of which he is often as little conscious as of the air he breathes, but without which spiritual life would be just as impossible as physical life under an exhausted reservoir” (W. R. Smith’s *Prophets of Israel*, p. 2).

“Do not,” he says, “go on deceiving yourselves” (μὴ πλανᾷσθε, note the middle voice and present tense). Do not continue in that fatal mistake of expecting to live the old sensual life and still to keep your souls pure and your hope of the resurrection bright and open ; “Evil associations corrupt a good character,” or, as we might paraphrase it, “Pagan companionships, and, consequently, pagan words and ideals corrupt and lower the higher life, which you have learnt to live in Christ.” The last words are an iambic line—φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρησθ’

ὁμιλῆαι κακαί—from the Thais of Menander.¹ The citation is peculiarly interesting, for Menander, a poet of the New Comedy, was a contemporary and close friend and disciple of Epicurus² himself, of whose philosophy he was the poetical exponent. It is therefore not without a touch of irony that St. Paul cites the Epicurean poet against his own followers, infusing, as he does, a Christian interpretation into the pagan advice. Learn a lesson, the apostle says in effect, from your own favourite poet; give up the low companionship, which must mar and ruin the acquired Christian character.

The expression which follows—ἐκνήψατε δικαίως—is not adequately rendered either in the Authorised or the Revised Version. But “awake to righteousness” of the A.V. is certainly preferable to the bald and inaccurate “awake righteously” of the R.V. which could hardly convey a definite meaning to the English reader. In the first place

¹ In citing this line among the fragments of Menander, Meineke (*Menandri et Philemonis Fragmenta*, p. 79) refers to this passage alone as the source of the quotation. Its ascription to Menander appears to rest on the authority of Jerome in notes on Tit. i. and Gal. iv. The evidence that it was a line in the Thais of that poet is derived from a marginal note in a MS. of the New Testament in the possession of H. Stephens.

² Menander and Epicurus were born in the same year at Athens, and spent their youth together as sharers in the same exercises (συνέφηβοι). (*History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, Müller and Donaldson, ii. 69.)

ἐκνήψατε does not mean "awake." *Νήφειν* is to be sober (see I Thess. v. 6; I Pet. v. 8); *ἐκνήφειν* "to be sober from or out of"; i.e. to return to sobriety out of the dissipation into which you have plunged. *Δικαίως* presents some difficulty, which is not overcome by the literal "righteously" of the R.V. It implies that the life of soberness is the rightful and true life of a Christian believer. *ὁ δίκαιος* (the righteous man) is the man who satisfies or fulfils all the claims upon him, who is right in what he does. *Δικαίως* means rightly or befittingly, and the clause may be paraphrased: "Return to the sobriety which befits the higher Christian life." Compare Titus ii. 11, 12, a passage nearly akin to this in thought: "For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us, to the intent that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and godly in this present age" (. . . *παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῇ νῦν αἰῶνι*). *Καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε* (and sin not). This clause expresses the argument negatively. That life of self-indulgence and dissipation which had resulted in scepticism is characterized as an *ἀμαρτία* (sin or mistake). For the Christian such a life was a mistake, a blunder, implying want of true spiritual insight.

The need of this apostolic warning thus early in

the history of Christianity is abundantly affirmed by the experience of succeeding generations. The social life of paganism, with the cruelty and open vice of amphitheatre and stage, was for long a formidable and grave hindrance to the Christian disciple. But perhaps, as the apostle seems to foresee, the greatest danger of all lay in the excess, and vicious talk, and unwholesome atmosphere of the pagan banquet: "Difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia," says Jerome.

In the next phrase, ἀγνοσίαν γὰρ Θεοῦ τινὲς ἔχουσιν (some have no knowledge of God), the apostle has probably definitely in view the Epicurean associates whose companionship had a corrupting influence on the higher life. The Vulgate rightly renders τινὲς by *quidam*, persons, whom the Apostle does not care to designate more particularly, but who would be recognized. He says in effect to his lapsed converts, "Those Epicurean friends of yours are really ignorant of God notwithstanding their pretence of knowledge." Here, as earlier in the Epistle, St. Paul claims the true philosophy and the capacity of knowing God for the Christian faith (comp. chap. i. 21-25). And here it is perhaps possible to trace the way in which this affectation of γνῶσις (knowledge) had disturbed the faith of the new disciples in the doctrine of the resurrection. Menander, whose words are here quoted, belonged, as we have seen,

to the New Comedy, which, "even more decidedly and more exclusively than the Middle Comedy, was rich in ridicule of the Platonic Academy, of the newly revived sect of the Pythagoreans, and of the orators and rhetoricians of the day."¹ We can well believe that this critical tone was characteristic of the society to which St. Paul alludes in *κακαὶ ὁμιλίαι* (evil communications). Nothing is more probable than that at the Epicurean *symposia*, into which the new converts were drawn, difficulties connected with the resurrection of the body would form the subject of scornful criticism, to which the Christian neophyte would not find it easy to reply. We may imagine one of these discomfited disciples laying before the apostle the difficulty, which has given occasion for the victorious answer with which the chapter concludes.

This then suggests a link of connexion, and enables us to see a reference to the *ἄφρων* (thou fool) of verse 36 to the *ἄγνωσίαν* (ignorance) of verse 34.

It is not perhaps a mere coincidence that in refuting his Epicurean opponent the apostle should use the same expression, *ἄφρων*, which our Lord applies in His parable to that other follower of the lower life (St. Luke xii. 19).

In this passage then, as we have shown, three

¹ *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, Müller and Donaldson, ii. 60, 62.

characteristic points of St. Paul's theology are brought into relation with his great argument for the resurrection: (1) The appeal to instinctive conviction; (2) The claim for the supremacy of the Wisdom of Christ; (3) The need of severance from the world for the spiritual life.

But there is another point, which does not appear on the surface of the argument, of too great practical importance to be overlooked. If we have rightly conjectured the genesis of the question on which St. Paul's final argument is based, we have here a very early instance of an 'insuperable' objection to the faith of Christianity dispelled by a single word from an apostle. But for that authoritative word a false conception of Christian teaching on the momentous subject of the resurrection might have continued to disturb the faith of uninstructed converts, such as those who fell easy victims to the philosophic criticism of the Corinthian *symposia*. The question might still be asked in scorn or doubt, "How are the dead raised, and with what manner of body do they come?" Throughout her history the Christian Church has suffered from such misconception of her faith as is implied in the question. Time after time the attempt has been made to proclaim as vital truths of Christianity tenets and dogmas, which the wiser criticism of a succeeding age has found to be groundless, and not Christian truths at all. The

Calvinistic doctrine of election ; an *a priori* theory of accuracy in the Bible narrative resulting in forced explanation of discrepancies ; the necessity of a literal and unconditional fulfilment of prophecy ; the doctrine of verbal inspiration ; misinterpretation of particular texts—all these have in turn furnished ‘insuperable’ difficulties in the way of accepting Christianity. Some have been dispelled by a truer religious instinct and a deeper knowledge ; some are still with us, either slowly vanishing in the growing light ; or else remaining, only to be dissolved in a flash of spiritual insight at the final revelation.

XVII

“ALL THINGS ARE YOURS”

(I CORINTHIANS III. 22.)

IN the section of the Epistle which is closed with these words, St. Paul is dealing with two subjects not apparently connected, which he weaves together in an interesting and characteristic way. These subjects are, the factions which had arisen in the Church at Corinth, and the allurements of Greek philosophy. To both he applies the principle summed up in the words, “all things are yours.” It is a principle, which should rule out the spirit of faction from the Church ; and which should make philosophy subservient to the higher wisdom, which is the endowment of the Christian.

The factions, which had arisen in the newly planted Church must have caused the deepest concern to the apostle. At the same time it might have been thought that his earnest appeal to his converts to be of one mind, to say the same thing, would have sufficed to stamp out this evil from the Christian community. Indeed the apostle does

certainly seem to dismiss this subject, and to proceed to another subject of vital importance to the theology of the Church, the danger namely of being drawn away from the simplicity of the gospel of Christ by the subtlety and pride of Greek philosophy. The transition is made in this way. In considering the question of schism, the thought comes to the Apostle's mind that he had not laid himself open to the charge of gaining adherents by baptizing the converts to the faith in Corinth. He might by so doing have created a distinction between those whom he had personally baptized and the rest. So he thanks God that with few exceptions he had baptized no one. The subject of baptism suggests the subject of preaching, and the subject of preaching leads the apostle to state the basis of the gospel, which he taught, and the simplicity of it, in contrast to the pagan philosophy, with which he had come in contact in Athens, and on which he had failed to make much impression by the line of argument there adopted.

But in dealing with pagan philosophy and its dangers St. Paul does not forget the subject, with which he started, the spirit of faction. He revives it in the course of the argument directed against a human philosophy.

He says at the opening of chapter iii., "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual"—as to men possessing the *πνεῦμα* or Spirit of God—a gift

which far transcends the highest attainment of the Greek philosopher—a gift too which ought to make impossible such party strife as now divided and humiliated the Church of Corinth.

It is a lofty argument which is pressed more closely still, " Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ? " (iii. 16).

This immeasurably great and precious possession lays the world at the feet of the followers of Jesus Christ :—" Let no one glory in men. For all things are yours ; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come : all are yours ; and ye are Christ's ; and Christ is God's " (iii. 23). As applied to Greek philosophy this principle is the foundation of a new and distinctively Christian philosophy, which is free to use the best results reached hitherto by the human mind, but at the same time is able by divine illumination to penetrate more deeply into the secret meaning of life. It would have been a happy thing for Christian thought and dogma if this principle had been observed, and if human speculation had been used, but not allowed to dominate the beliefs of Christendom, and to mould its doctrines.

Even more important for the future of Christianity is the application of this principle to the spirit of faction.

Although the divisions which existed in the Church in Corinth were serious enough to be a source of danger and to call forth the warnings of the apostle, it is possible that almost unconsciously we exaggerate in our own minds their character and importance. Certainly the contentions were not of a kind to threaten the Church with heretical teaching. To see this we have only to compare the language of the apostle in this Epistle with that which he uses in the Epistle to the Galatians, or in the Epistle to the Colossians, when great and vital truths of Christianity were at stake. To the Galatians he writes : " I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ unto another gospel : which is not another ; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ " (Gal. i. 6-7). And to the Colossians : " Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ " (ii. 8).

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians there is no language approaching that in severity of tone or in presentiment of danger. Nor indeed, if we think of it, could there be. For however foolish and mistaken the Corinthians might be in ranging themselves in separate factions under the shelter of great names, there could be no suspicion of heresy or false teaching attached to the names of the

chosen leaders — St. Paul himself, St. Peter or Cephas, and Apollos, of whom St. Paul says at the end of his letter : " I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren ; and it was not at all his wish to come now ; but he will come when he shall have opportunity " (xvi. 12). No one of these great teachers could be accused of bringing false doctrines into the Church of Christ.

But one of these parties claimed in some exclusive way the right to call itself by the name of Christ Himself. In what sense this high claim was made, or what significance it had, we need not now inquire. But in all probability no intentional error was involved as to the nature or character of the Christ. For in that case the Apostle would certainly have corrected such false teaching in express terms.

On the whole St. Paul had reason to be thankful for the spiritual condition of this newly founded Church in Corinth. He says at the beginning of his message to it : " I thank my God always concerning you for the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus ; that in every thing ye were enriched in Him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge, even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you ; so that ye come behind in no gift " (i. 4 foll.). These are words of high commendation, hardly compatible with any deep-seated error or perversion of the gospel of Christ.

Still the apostle's words convey a rebuke and warning needful for every age, and every branch of the Christian Church. And the words in which he sums up the argument, "All things are yours," enshrine a great principle widely applicable to our own lives and conduct, and to the solution of many questions, besides its immediate reference to the *σχίσματα* (divisions) at Corinth.

The apostle reminds his converts of the immense privilege, which they enjoy—the inestimable gift which they possess by their union with Christ (i. 30), which places them on a level, not only far above the uninspired wisdom of Greek philosophy but also above all questions of faction or party in the Church of Christ. For the two arguments run concurrently through the first three chapters of this Epistle; and the same determining principle is brought to bear on each. That principle is the implanted gift of God's Holy Spirit; it is the indwelling Christ, who is made unto us "Wisdom from God" (i. 30); it is "the Spirit that searcheth all things" (ii. 10); it is "the mind of Christ" which as Christians we have (ii. 16); it is the Spirit of God dwelling in us, which makes of every Christian a sanctuary of God, the innermost shrine of the temple in which God dwells (iii. 16). This is the great possession, which enables St. Paul to say to these young Christians: "All things are yours." This was the wonderful new truth revealed

in Christ which was destined to revolutionize the world. It was the hidden manna, and the secret name, in possession of which, and in the knowledge of which all the glories and splendours and wisdom of that beautiful and refined Greek world, in which the apostle and his converts lived, counted for nothing except so far as they could be used for Christ. The Christian is taught to look on all things as his own, and himself as Christ's ; all this vast inheritance therefore is to be used by him in the service of Christ, and consequently in the service of God.

As an argument addressed to a small and outwardly insignificant community, a large proportion of which were probably slaves, incapable of holding property, it is one of astonishing significance. The terms in which St. Paul reveals the secret of this possession indicate how wide and distant its influence would be ; " whether things present or things to come ; all are yours " ; the Christian slave held in his hand the future of the world's history. There is therefore no limit to the application of the principle.

For the moment the apostle brings it into relation with the divisions in the Church. He is blaming his converts for the wrong use they had made of their teachers. They had placed themselves under those teachers ; they had become their disciples and followers, or at least had used their

names, and had made them guides and leaders instead of claiming them as their possession to be brought into the service of Christ. And many a time in Christian history has the same mistake been made. Christians have forgotten the greatness of their endowment, and regarded men as masters, who were in reality their servants in Christ. Paul, Cephas and Apollos had each one gospel to preach, and one only. But each taught the gospel in his own way, in accordance with his own individual gift, and his own religious experience. One laid greater emphasis on one truth, another on a different truth. Such difference is of course traceable in the books of the New Testament. It is the same gospel throughout, but there are different modes and aspects of teaching. St. Paul emphasizes the need of faith, St. James the need of works ; St. Mark paints a vivid picture of the external life of the Saviour, St. John conveys to us the depths of His spiritual teaching. Different types of mind are attracted by different aspects of the truth.

And yet how indispensable is each sacred writer, and each record of our Lord's life and teaching. What a mistake it would be to say : "I am of St. Mark, and I am of St. John ; or I am of St. Paul, and I of St. James." But this seems to have been what the Christians of Corinth did in their early enthusiasm for particular

teachers. And over and over again it has been done in the Christian Church in spite of the apostle's warning. Great teachers have arisen ; a St. Augustine, a St. Francis, a St. Dominic, a Luther, a Calvin, a Wesley, a Pusey ; and men have classed themselves under their names with enthusiasm and devotion, and not without much spiritual profit in special ways, and in special cases, but on the whole to the detriment of the Church of Christ, as the apostle foresaw through his divinely inspired intelligence.

What then would the apostle have us do ? Would he have us turn away from these great lights as they shine forth in successive ages, as guides in dark places, and true beacon towers in the Church of Christ ? Far from it. St. Paul would say to us, " All things are yours " ; use them in the name and in the service of Christ. Use these varied ministries for your soul's health ; but remember you are Christ's ; you do not belong to any preacher, however famous, or to any leader, however prominent in the Church of Christ. You are the servant of Christ ; and so far as any teacher helps you to serve Him better, so far as he enlightens your understanding of divine mysteries, so far as he suggests or practises a godly rule of discipline, use him for your soul's health, but do not be his blind follower or his slave, for " all things are yours."

The clearness of St. Paul's intuition is seen in this early warning against party feeling, as distinct from erroneous teaching. And in view of what has happened in the history of the Church of Christ the precept which he applies to that feeling is of unspeakable value. For when men once take sides the tendency is to disparage all who do not agree with them, and to reject the whole of an opponent's teaching because they dissent from a part. But because all things are ours, we should try to bring all things into the service of Christ. And very often it is possible to learn much from a teacher, a Church, or a system, from which we have been accustomed to sever ourselves. Christians are beginning to discover or to re-discover this happier law in the religious life. There is far less of mutual recrimination than there used to be, and a far greater desire on the part of the different communities of Christians to understand one another ; and for each to appropriate, and absorb that which is best and holiest in another's system. This is the more excellent way. It is a step towards the unity which the apostle sets before us ; and it is to put to practical use the lofty claim which the apostle makes for us that, through Christ, “ all things are ours.”

XVIII

JUDAISTIC CHRISTIANITY

ONE of the most interesting questions that meet us at the very threshold of Church history is the relation of the Christian Church to Judaism in the apostolic age.

We all understand that Christianity sprang from Judaism, and is based upon it, and that the Old Testament leads up to the New Testament, and that the law of Moses finds its fullest development in the teaching of Jesus Christ and in the institution of the Christian Church ; but what is not so clearly understood is, that for an appreciable time the followers of Jesus Christ appeared externally to be a religious sect or party among the Jews, not differing in outward observance from their brethren, who with them were continually in the temple, and with them observed the rites and ceremonies of the law ; and that it was only by a long process of argument and education under the guidance of the Holy Spirit that the Christian

Church emancipated itself from the trammels of Judaism, and, in possession of her rightful liberty, claimed the dominion of the world.

In order to trace the process of the emancipation clearly, we must first ascertain the exact attitude of our Lord to Judaism and the law ; and, secondly, the steps, by which the apostles, as evidenced in the Acts and the Epistles, guided the Church to its perfect development.

In endeavouring to elucidate this fundamental question of the early Christian Church, acknowledgment should be made, at the outset, of the researches of the late Dr. Hort, and of the light which he has thrown on the whole subject.”¹

According to Dr. Hort's results we shall find that the problem of disentangling and emancipating Christian teaching from the traditions and authority of Judaism was more prominently present to the minds of the inspired writers of the New Testament than is generally thought ; and that, contrary even to the authority of Bishop Lightfoot, certain important passages of the Epistles are to be referred to this question of Judaism, and not to heretical teaching of a different kind.

First of all, then, what were the relations of Jesus Christ Himself to the law and to the spirit of Judaism ?

¹ By the publication of *Judaistic Christianity*. (Macmillan & Co.)

From St. Luke's narrative of the infancy we find that our Lord conformed to the requirements of the Mosaic law in His circumcision, in the presentation in the temple, and in the keeping of the Passover when He was twelve years of age. During His ministry the same conformity to the religious life of His fellow-countrymen is observable. He taught in their synagogues, worshipped in the temple courts, and, like other Jews, paid the temple tax (Matt. xvii. 24-27).

In regard to His teaching, He expressly disclaims intention to destroy the existing order of things.

Men might have expected that the new great Prophet would have swept away the ancient laws, and changed the whole basis of the religious life. To such He expressly says: "Think not" (as perhaps they were thinking), "think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfil" (Matt. v. 17).

These words give the key for the explanation of our Lord's attitude to Judaism. Christianity was to be a fulfilment and completion of the Law; and the Sermon on the Mount contains the exposition of this teaching.

Christ did not come to break down restraints, or to weaken the sense of duty imposed by the Law. The righteousness which Christ taught was not to be less, it was to be deeper and higher than the

righteousness of the Law. This is illustrated by several examples taken from obedience to the Decalogue, which are familiar to us all.

Finally, the teaching is summed up in that great verse: "All things, therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them, for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. vii. 12).

Then there is another side of our Lord's teaching in regard to Judaism which is exemplified by His relations with St. John the Baptist. Two passages are of importance in regard to these relations: (*a*) Matt. ix. 14, *fol.*, and the parallels in Mark ii. and Luke v. (*b*) Matt. xi. 2-19; Luke vii. 18-35.

The first passage contains the difficult illustrations of the undressed cloth on an old garment, and of the new wine in old wine-skins. The second passage is that in which our Lord speaks of St. John as more than a prophet. The inference to be gathered from the two passages is, that the old dispensation, as represented by the Baptist, is good, and that those who remain in it are not to be blamed, but that the dispensation which succeeds to it is better, and that those who belong to it are no longer bound by the obligations of the older covenant. "As John stands for the worthy representative of the law and the prophets in the old order, so the scribes and Pharisees

stand for its unworthy representatives.”¹ But our Lord’s rebuke of the scribes and Pharisees is not directed against their observance of the law, or even of traditions, but against their insistence on minute and trivial observances, and their unworthy traditions, and their hypocrisy, and hardness of heart.

In regard to the extension of Christianity to the Gentiles, our Lord, almost without exception, confines His own ministry to Israel, and He expressly charges the twelve apostles not to go “into any way of the Gentiles, or to enter into any city of the Samaritans, but to go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Matt. x. 6). At the same time He intimates plainly that the gospel shall extend beyond the limits of the chosen people. “Other sheep I have which are not of this fold : them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice” (John x. 16). And again : “Many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven” (Matt. viii. 11). Then, above all, there is the last important charge, which makes the Lord’s will quite clear : “Go ye therefore (‘therefore,’ because all authority in heaven and earth is given to Me), and bring all the nations into discipleship” (Matt. xxviii. 19).

In the Acts (i. 8) the command is given more

¹ Hort, *op. cit.* p. 28.

explicitly : "Ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." These and many other passages clearly prove the divine purpose for the conversion of the Gentile world.

We now proceed to trace how this purpose gradually revealed itself to the apostles of Christ, and how it took shape in the institution and growth of the Christian Church.

With these clear intimations of the extension of the gospel, we may wonder that the truth was not more immediately and vividly recognized and acted upon. As a matter of fact, its revelation was gradual. The first thought in regard to the admission of the Gentiles would be that they should become Christians indeed, but that they should first of all become Jews. The expression which describes the accession of converts, "There were added to the Church," is one which is used of making proselytes.

At first the disciples were indistinguishable in their outer life from other Jews. They were frequently in the temple and joined in its services and ritual, though no sacrificial acts are definitely named. They resorted to the synagogues as before, and were even permitted to explain their doctrines about the Messiah to their fellow-countrymen. They were, in short, Jews with a distinctive Messianic belief.

There were, however, from the first distinctive Christian usages which are described in the very important *v.* 42 of Acts ii. The "Teaching of the Apostles," undoubtedly inspired by Christ Himself, took the place of instruction by the scribes; "fellowship" implies community of goods as well as brotherhood; the breaking of bread is the holy Eucharist; and *the* prayers (R.V.) are the distinctive Christian prayers, which replaced the prayers of the Synagogue. At a very early period it is probable that the Christians had synagogues of their own. The scene described in James ii. 2 f., where the word synagogue is actually employed, seems certainly to have taken place in a Christian assemblage.

A clearer view of the ultimate meaning and distinction of Christianity is put forth by the Church's first martyr, St. Stephen.

Without minutely analysing the important defence of St. Stephen, it may suffice here to say that the tendency and aim of it is to point to a holiness greater than that of the temple, and a righteousness revealed in the prophets, which exceeds that of the law. Its result so far surpassed its immediate aim; for it cannot be doubted that the argument of St. Stephen became the motive of St. Paul's career.

The conversion of Cornelius, and Philip's mission to Samaria, were further steps in the extension of

the gospel.¹ And far more important still in this regard were the conversion of St. Paul and the rise of the Church in Antioch—events which culminated in the first great council of the Christian Church held at Jerusalem under the presidency of James the Lord's brother, bishop or head of the Church in Jerusalem (Acts xv. 6–20). The decision of the Council pronounced by St. James released for ever Gentile converts from the observance of the Jewish law. Circumcision, and the Sabbath, and the sacrificial system of the Jews became no longer binding on Gentile Christians. It was an incident which occurred during St. Paul's first missionary journey that had necessitated the meeting of this Council. In the first instance St. Paul and Barnabas had addressed themselves to the Jews and argued in their synagogues that Jesus was the promised Messiah. But at Antioch in Pisidia a very important step was taken. On the second Sabbath of their stay in that city immense crowds—almost the whole city, St. Luke says—came to hear the word of God. The Jews, filled with zeal, raised an opposition to the apostles, who then “turned to the Gentiles” as the Lord commanded. “This incident,” says Dr. Hort, “is the true turning point at which a Gentile Christianity

¹ Acts viii. and x. Note the reluctance of the apostles to acquiesce in St. Peter's action, and the need of defence.

begins"¹ (Acts xiii. 44 f.). The Apostles returned to Antioch and reported the events of their mission. This large influx of Gentile converts raised the question of obedience to the law. And for the decision of this question the first Church Council met in Jerusalem; St. Paul and Barnabas being sent as envoys from Antioch.

Jewish converts, however, continued to observe the religious rites of their forefathers and this seems to have been expected. But it is quite clear that this decision of the Council was by no means welcomed by a large body of the newly converted Jews; and from this point in the history of the Church dates the origin of the Judaizing party, who continued to press the necessity of circumcision for Gentile convert and Jewish Christian alike. This teaching was especially prominent in the Church in Jerusalem. And when certain members of that Church came to Antioch, where Christianity had been taught in its purer and lasting form, for the moment even Peter and Barnabas were led astray by their arguments and no longer joined in the common meals with Gentile Christians (Gal. ii. 15).

St. Paul perceived how critical the occasion was, and openly rebuked St. Peter for his inconsistency. There can be no doubt from the subsequent history that St. Peter acquiesced in St. Paul's

¹ pp. 64 65.

reasoning. Certainly any other conclusion would have placed the Gentile Christians in a false and inferior position, and would have changed the history of the Christian Church.

The whole result of this decision was what Dr. Hort calls a "duality within Christendom," of which hardly sufficient account has been taken.

For a time side by side there existed (*a*) a Gentile Christianity which recognized a fulfilment of the law apart from observance of its letter ; and (*b*) a Jewish Christianity which still observed the law of Moses. The influence of this "duality within Christendom" is clearly traceable in the Acts and in the Epistles. It is traceable, e.g., in the circumcision of Timothy, a Greek on his father's side, but on his mother's side and by education a Jew. It was a case where a man might have made his choice between a Jewish and a Gentile Christianity. But, if Timothy had remained uncircumcised, he would have failed in his mission to the Jews without any corresponding gain in influence over Gentiles.

Titus, on the other hand, being a Greek pure and simple, was not compelled to be circumcised. St. Paul's own position was unmistakably that of a Jewish Christian who personally adhered to Levitical institutions—witness the vow at Cenchreæ (Acts xviii. 18), and his undertaking the expenses of four poor Jews in discharging their vows in the temple, probably also making an

offering there himself. This position exposed St. Paul to hostility both from unbelieving Jews and from those who still insisted on circumcision and observance of the Jewish law for all Christians. See, e.g., 1 Thess. ii. 16 and iii. 2; 2 Thess. i. 8. This is also clearly illustrated by the narrative of St. Paul's visit to Ephesus (Acts xix.), where we find the apostle first worshipping with other Christians, both Jew and Gentile, in the Synagogue, then driven to take refuge in some other place (not the school of Tyrannus, which seems to have been used only as a lecture-room). We must pass over many passages of the Epistles which bear upon this interesting question. But there are two Epistles which in their whole argument have too close a relation to Judaistic Christianity to be omitted—the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Epistle to the Romans.

As to the first, there is, of course, an important controversy in regard to the persons addressed. This does not, however, materially affect the argument of the Epistle, which is a serious confutation of false teaching on the part of Judaizing emissaries, who had endeavoured to impose upon the Galatian converts (who in any case were Gentiles) circumcision, and other requirements of the Jewish law, as things necessary to the Christian life.

Such teaching St. Paul opposes in the most vigorous language (Gal. v. 2 f.), and we cannot

understand the Epistle unless we remember that St. Paul's words are addressed not to Jewish, but to Gentile Christians. It is the preaching of the liberty of the gospel, in such words as Gal. iv. 6 f.

In the Epistle to the Romans there is also a confutation of false teaching in regard to the law. But the position of the Roman Church is different from that of the Churches of Galatia. It does not appear that the Roman Church had been seduced or influenced as yet by the teaching of the Judaizers. But St. Paul is preparing the Christians of Rome to resist such perversion from the truth. He is building them up, and teaching them the true relations between the law and the gospel. The ideal which he contemplates is the union of Jew and Gentile in the new and universal Israel. "Both are saved by the free mercy of God in Christ." Nevertheless the Law and the Prophets were not abolished, but fulfilled. Old things in passing away had become new through Christ.¹ In the light of what has been said it will not be necessary to refer at length to St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 23 f.), where he was exposed to the misrepresentations of the unbelieving Jews, which they had "dinned into the ears" (*κατήχηνται*, v. 24, the expression is a remarkable one) of his opponents. But the whole passage should be studied.

¹ Hort, p. 101.

To return once more to the Epistles. There is an important and difficult passage in the Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 8) expanded in *vv.* 16–23. “Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world and not after Christ.” The false teaching is defined to be in respect of meat and drink, and of a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath day; and further, a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels are named as subjects on which the Christian converts might be led astray. A discussion of the passage is impossible in the present summary, but it is important to point out that the whole of it is referred by Dr. Hort not to Essenism, as has been alleged, but to corrupt Jewish teaching which had threatened the Church—and here the danger to the Christian faith does not consist in a teaching of the binding force of the law, as in the Galatian and Roman Churches, but in a perverted view of the religious life and practice, and of the person of Christ.

So also, in dealing with the Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Hort has shown with great probability that even “the knowledge (*γνῶσις*) falsely so-called” does not refer to gnosticism, and that the “foolish questionings and genealogies of Titus iii. 9 and “the fables and endless genealogies” of 1 Tim. i. 4 are to be explained of legendary stories which

became characteristic of a certain type of Jewish thought. Discussions founded on these were vain and barren questionings.

The expression "opposition of knowledge falsely so-called" (1 Tim vi. 20), as applied to Judaism, means "contrasts of counterfeit knowledge"—i.e., fine and trivial distinctions in regard to the law, which the more learned Rabbis were fond of drawing, but which in fact obscured rather than explained its true meaning.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is specially important in regard to this "duality of Christendom" to which we have referred; for it is addressed to Jewish Christians, almost certainly Christians living in Palestine, for whom it had now become necessary to detach themselves from the religious rites of their forefathers; and the danger was that these Jews would think more and more of the temple, still standing in its glory, and less and less of the Christ, the promise of whose coming seemed long delayed; the argument of the Epistle then is to show the transitoriness of the older dispensation and the surpassing and eternal glory of the high priesthood of Christ.

The Epistle in fact foreshadows the ideal and only enduring true Christianity, common alike to Jew and Gentile, independent indeed of the law, and yet the sublime fulfilment of it.

It is to be hoped that these brief remarks may

have been of use in clearly presenting to the reader these two distinct lines on which Christianity at first moved, and in showing what grave difficulties, and what possibilities of collision and separation this condition of things involved, how largely it occupied the administrative energy of the apostles and elders of the infant Church, and how truly it was the leading and most engrossing question in this the earliest epoch of Church history. The results we have reached will also bear upon such questions as the authority of the Old Testament, the relation of Judaism to Christianity, the claim that the Law and even the Decalogue have on Christian people, the observance of the Lord's day and its relation to the Sabbath. They will also enable us to form a clear judgment in regard to those movements and epochs of history when the principles of the Old Testament morality and religion have been applied more or less crudely to the religious life of Christianity.¹ Lastly, the fuller and clearer perception of the development of Christianity out of Judaism will more than ever convince us of the presence of Christ in His Church and of the guidance of the Holy Spirit in every step of her progress.

The history of Judaistic Christianity after the destruction of Jerusalem is very obscure; the

¹ See Hort, pp. 2 3.

earliest evidence shows that the Christians dwelling in Jerusalem fled to Pella,¹ a place of great strength and importance to the present day, and so escaped the horrors of the siege. According to the same authority, however, a list of the bishops of Jerusalem after the date of the siege is given. The question, Did these bishops preside over the Church at Pella, or was there a return to Jerusalem and a restored Church ruled over by the bishops whose names are recorded? On this point there is no conclusive evidence. It is at any rate certain that the Judaistic Church at Jerusalem came to an end with the destruction of the city under Antoninus Pius in A.D. 140.

Another question both of interest and difficulty is the duration of Judaistic Christianity within the Church. Its extinction was probably gradual. In the second century Judaism was regarded as schismatical. "By Irenæus and Origen Jewish Christianity was known only as the system of the Ebionites, who were held to be heretical."²

¹ Euseb. *H.E.*, iii. 11.

² Prof. Slater, *Expositor*, Aug. 1895, Art. V.

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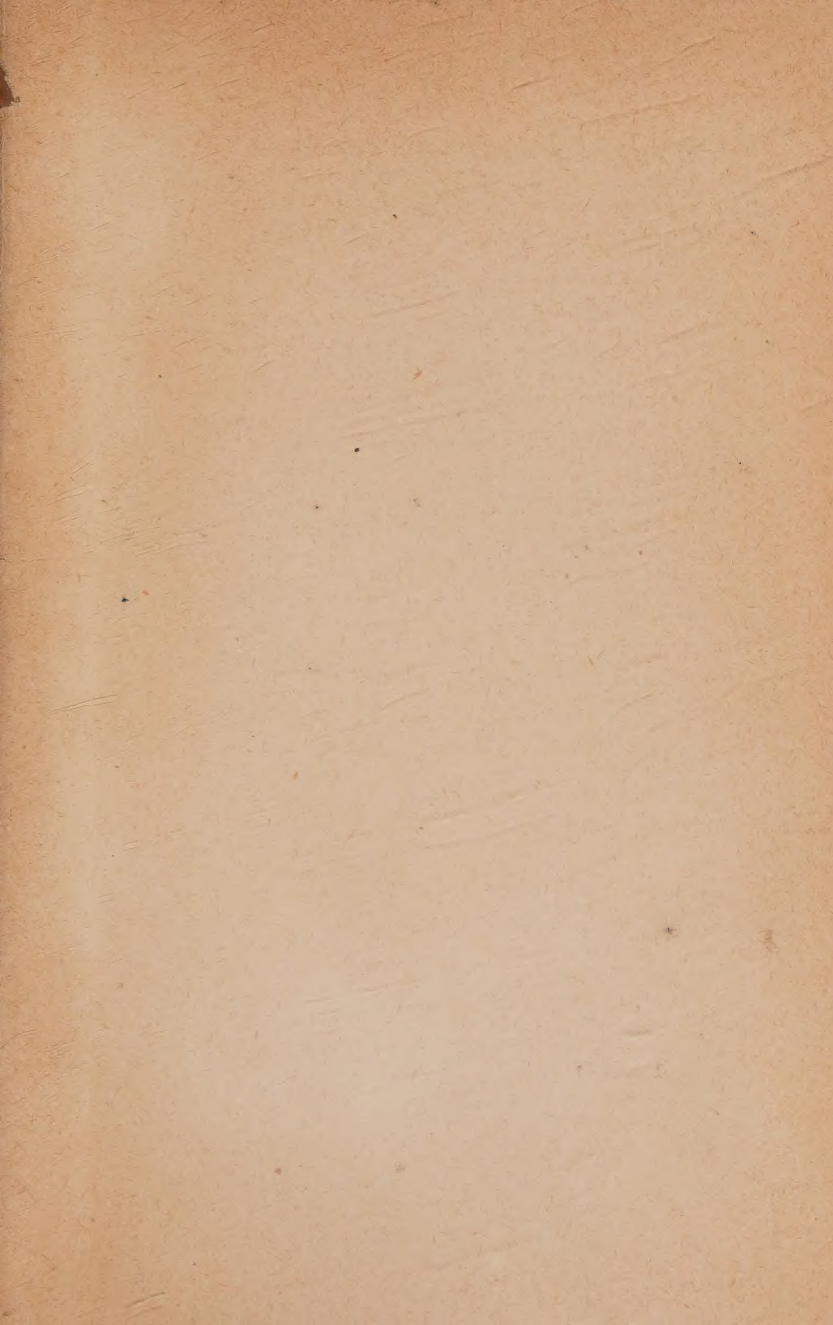
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